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Editor's Notes

APPROACHES to administrative decentralization may differ, but the importance of rendering local government more effective in contributing to economic and social development, and as an instrument of administrative and national unity, is receiving increased attention everywhere. An article in this issue of the Journal comments on two conferences held at Cambridge[1] and Geneva which, though convened for different purposes, came to similar conclusions on such subjects as the purposes and forms of decentralization, popular participation and representation, the training of staff and the functions of local government.

While considering local government developments, it is interesting to note two policy statements on either side of Africa which express confidence in the local authority system. The Prime Minister of Northern Nigeria has recently pledged every help and assistance to those native authorities maintaining an efficient administration having the confidence of the people of its area. But he declared[2] that his Government would take forceful and direct action if a native authority administered its area inefficiently or failed to carry out the lawful instructions of the Government. He pointed out that small authorities could be merged together into a larger unit, or large authorities be divided into smaller units if circumstances demanded such action.

In Zanzibar[3], where there are six local councils on Pemba Island but few elsewhere, practical steps are being taken to extend the area covered by local government, and to give more responsibility to existing councils in the execution of their decisions and in the maintenance and expansion of local services.

Contributions to this issue of the Journal come from Africa, the South Pacific and Malaya. They are written as a result of practical experience gained in one country or region, but the local administrator wherever he may be will recognize the affinity of the problems he confronts with those in another part of the globe; several authors, such as Mr. Rennie when writing about urbanization in the Pacific or Mr. Prothero when considering labour migration in West Africa, refer to the value of a comparative study of solutions attempted elsewhere. This approach should not only impart fresh ideas but may also help to create a sense of belonging to a world-wide community of administrators.

[1] Copies of the report are obtainable from the Secretary of the Overseas Studies Committee of Cambridge University (18 Petty Cury), at 5s. 6d. a copy, which includes postage.

[2] At the end of the budget meeting of the legislature in March 1962.

[3] Zanzibar Government Sessional Paper No. 15 of 1961.

The main pre-occupations of most governments these days are political development, economic growth and the training of leaders. We therefore hope that it will be useful to read about the changes taking place in a corner of Tanganyika with the dawn of political consciousness, the purposeful way in which Malaya is approaching land development, and the experience gained in Northern Nigeria in teaching future leaders 'administrative techniques'.

Improvement of Local Government and Administration for Development Purposes

Comparative analysis of approaches and results of the Cambridge Conference on Local Government and the United Nations Working Group on Administrative Aspects of Decentralization for National Development

by Emil J. Sady[1]

This article compares the approaches and summarizes the results of two meetings: the Cambridge Conference on Local Government in Africa (King's College, University of Cambridge, August 28th to September 9th, 1961) and the United Nations Working Group on Administrative Aspects of Decentralization for National Development (Palais des Nations, Geneva, October 16th to 27th, 1961). Participants at both were seeking, through a comparative approach, methods of improving local government. A comparison of their findings is of interest despite the fact that the meetings had different purposes, were constituted differently, and had a different area and subject matter scope. The Cambridge Conference was designed to provide refresher training and exchange of information for expatriate (British) and African administrative officers, and to advance knowledge on means of improving local government in English-speaking areas in Africa. The United Nations Group was convened primarily to assist in the preparation of a report for the use of governments of developing countries and technical assistance experts in devising forms of decentralization (whether through local government or other means involving participation by the people) which might accelerate social and economic development. Exchange of information among participants was regarded more as a by-product, although an important one, of the United Nations Group.

These differences in purpose explain the differences in composition, preliminary documentation, organization and results of the two meetings. The Cambridge Conference was attended by about 125 persons with widely differing degrees of experience. Roughly one-fourth were from Britain and the United States, one-half from non-self-governing territories in Africa, and one-fourth from independent countries in Africa. Some were officers who had just entered the administrative service, others were at the highest administrative levels and there were a number of noted scholars. Five papers were prepared by the Department of Technical Co-operation and circulated in advance of the conference. Their titles were:

I. The meaning and purpose of local government.
II. The composition, structure and organization of local government.
III. The staff of local government.
IV. The functions, jurisdiction and finance of local government.
V. Local government in relation to other bodies.

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[1] The author is Chief of the Local Government Section, Division for Public Administration, United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs. The views expressed are not necessarily those of the United Nations.

The participants were divided into five discussion groups. Each group discussed one paper during the first week and prepared a draft report. Each also commented on the draft reports of two other groups and took the lead in the plenary debates on those reports. The second week was devoted largely to the plenary debates of group reports, with each group in turn defending its draft. Although time and circumstances made it impracticable to debate some issues as fully as desired, substantial concensus was reached on the group reports so that relatively little in the way of substantive additions and changes were left to the editors of the final report of the conference.[2]

The United Nations Group consisted of twenty-two persons: twelve senior administrative officers, most of them permanent secretaries of local government ministries, from countries in Africa, Asia, Eastern and Western Europe and South America; an authority on comparative systems of field administration; the Director of the study on "Central Services to Local Authorities" which the International Union of Local Authorities is carrying out for the United Nations; and specialists in the administration of agricultural, educational, health, labour and social welfare services and in public administration designated by the United Nations, FAO, ILO, UNESCO and WHO. English and French were the working languages of the group.[3]

The preliminary documentation of the United Nations Group consisted of a draft discussion paper introducing topics and raising questions for discussion; a document assembling topically the comments of participants and others on this paper, including additional questions meriting discussion; papers by the specialists on optimum areas for administration of their respective services; papers by other participants describing the system of decentralization in their countries; a paper on central services to local authorities and another on municipal credit institutions, and a manuscript on decentralization prepared by Professor Henry Maddick pursuant to a contract between the International Political Science Association and the United Nations,[4] together with a classification of paragraphs in the manuscript according to the topics presented in the discussion papers. This was in order to make it easier for the Working Group to use the manuscript as source material and to advise on what should be drawn from it for the United Nations publication.

The group met throughout in plenary sessions. However, participants were divided into four steering committees, each charged with preparing the agenda and guiding and stimulating plenary discussion on two of the following eight topics in the discussion paper: purposes and forms of decentralization; size of areas and number of tiers for field administration and local government; area division of powers and functions; popular participation and representation;

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[2] Copies of the report may be obtained from the Secretary of the Overseas Studies Committee, 18 Petty Cury, Cambridge, at 5s. 6d. a copy including postage.

[3] The participants of the United Nations Working Group were as follows: Ali Hassan Abdulla (Sudan), J. M. Beckley (Nigeria), Roger Bonnaud-Delamere (France), Jacques Bugnicourt (Senegal), Mohamed Abdalla El Araby (U.A.R.), James W. Fesler (U.S.A.), Juliusz Gorynski (Poland), Howard Hayden (UNESCO), W. Hoven (IULA), V. C. Jayasuriya (Ceylon), Georges Lambert-Lamond (U.N.), Leonardo Leonardi (ILO), Diogo Lordello de Mello (Brazil), J. S. Peterson (WHO), Robert J. Pichel (FAO), P. V. R. Rao (India), Emil J. Sady (U.N., Technical Secretary), F. A. Soliman (WHO), U. Thaung (Burma), F. J. Tickner (U.N., Chairman), A. Vratusa (Yugoslavia), and D. Walsh (United Kingdom).

[4] Professor Maddick's manuscript, entitled *Decentralization for Development*, is being published by the Asia Publishing House. Another study which was made available to the United Nations Group for reference purposes was *The structure of local government throughout the world*, by Samuel Humes and Eileen M. Martin, published by Martinus Nijhoff, The Hague, 1961.

staffing decentralized services; financial aspects of decentralization; central institutions required for rational decentralization; and international technical assistance. There were separate rapporteurs for each topic who were assisted by their steering committees in drafting the report of the plenary discussion on their topics. These draft reports were discussed during the last three days of the workshop and amendments were suggested for consideration by the United Nations in preparing its publication.

Generally speaking, the arrangements for the two meetings were appropriate to their respective purposes and it is difficult to assess them. The Cambridge Conference approach permitted more detailed examination of the organization and administration of urban as well as rural local government and the role of native authorities in English-speaking areas in Africa than would have been possible at a worldwide conference. However, the participants would probably have benefited from wider geographic representation (such as from India and Yugoslavia). The Conference itself concluded that, while principles of local government are equally applicable to Africa as to Britain, it is becoming increasingly less profitable for African governments to turn to British practices for possible solutions to their problems. Participants informally expressed keen interest in practices elsewhere in the world.

On the other hand, the United Nations Group had worldwide experience to draw upon in its search for improved methods of decentralizing for development purposes. Its composition and preparatory work permitted consideration of the requirements of area administration and popular participation from the standpoint of the technical services as well as administrators from different governmental systems. Its broad scope permitted consideration of alternative forms of decentralization. It gave special attention to multi-purpose local authorities (rural) but also considered other arrangements for popular participation, such as special statutory bodies or advisory committees, the use of which may permit more effective administration of a given service. Its purpose provided a sharper focus than at Cambridge on organization at the national level for fostering rational decentralization and for providing technical and financial services to local authorities. However, its scope was too broad or its duration too short to enable it to produce a more complete report.

Despite the differences in scope and approach of the two meetings, the subjects discussed were substantially similar and complementary. It is regrettable that the two groups could not have met to lend their combined weight to the many points on which they agreed, and to iron out differences in their conclusions. For example, the interest expressed at Cambridge in local government elsewhere in the world was echoed in the recommendation made by the Geneva Working Group that the United Nations should organize study tours to enable senior officers of ministries of local government in developing countries to visit countries in other regions which have had significant experience with decentralization.

Also, both meetings considered the following definition which we had developed in the United Nations: "The term local government refers to a political subdivision of a nation or (in a federal system) state which is constituted by law and has substantial control of local affairs, including the power to impose taxes or to exact labour for prescribed purposes. The governing body of such an entity is elected or otherwise locally selected."[5]

[5] *Public Administration Aspects of Community Development Programmes*, (Sales No.: 59.II.H.2) page 2, paragraph 7.

Both meetings expressed concern that the phrase "to exact labour for prescribed purposes" might be misinterpreted and lead to abuse. The Cambridge Conference, 'throwing out the baby with the bath water', started afresh on a new definition which omits the phrase in question but otherwise differs little in substance from the definition quoted. The United Nations Group, on the other hand, accepted the definition with the understanding that the phrase in question would either be deleted or be more precisely worded to conform with international labour standards on the subject, that is limiting the exaction of labour in lieu of taxes to 'minor communal services' and calling for the progressive abolition of communal labour imposed on order of tribal chiefs.

It seems more fruitful to bring together in a meaningful way some of the more important results of the two meetings than to attempt further comparisons of arrangements for the meetings or a catalogue of items of agreement or disagreement. In view of the wider scope of the United Nations Group and the fact that the author was involved at all stages of its work, its conclusions will be summarized and important supplementary or contradictory conclusions of the Cambridge Conference noted. The views attributed herein to the 'United Nations Group' and the 'Cambridge Conference' represent the author's understanding of the consensus of the respective meetings and do not necessarily represent the views either of individual participants or of the organizations which sponsored the meetings.

Purposes of decentralization

Local government and other forms of decentralization involving popular participation contribute to national as well as local government by:–

(*a*) 'decongesting' government at the centre and thereby freeing national leaders from onerous details and unnecessary involvement in local issues, and facilitating co-ordination and expediting action at the local level;

(*b*) increasing the people's understanding and support of social and economic development activities and, as a result, gaining the benefit of their own contribution to these activities, and of personal and group adjustments to needed changes;

(*c*) making programmes to foster social and economic betterment at the local level more realistic and lasting;

(*d*) training people in the art of self-government; and

(*e*) strengthening national unity.[6]

Forms of decentralization

The United Nations Group found the following classification of systems of field administration and local government to be useful for purposes of comparative study;

(*a*) *Comprehensive local government system*, in which most government services at the local level are rendered through multi-purpose local authorities. A concept of substantial unity of purpose of representative bodies at all levels underlies this system. Local authorities exercise some functions pursuant to general statutory authority and others on behalf of central ministries. There is, therefore,

[6] This point was emphasized by the Cambridge Conference. While recognizing the argument that local government can be misused by the members of a particular race, religion, tribe or political party to promote disunity, the Conference felt that local authorities can and should be so constituted as to prevent this.

opportunity for locally as well as centrally initiated and controlled activities. The distinguishing feature of this system is that local authorities, instead of field units of national agencies, render direct agricultural, education, health and social welfare services. This is the system in Yugoslavia, and is emerging in India, Pakistan and the United Arab Republic with the transformation of field units of central agencies into the executive arms of local authorities.[7]

(*b*) *Partnership system*, in which some direct services are rendered by field units of central agencies and others by local authorities. The local authorities perform some functions more or less autonomously pursuant to general statutory authority and others on behalf of and under the technical supervision of central ministries. This system permits use of field administration and local authorities separately or jointly according to the needs of the particular function and situation. Field units are likely to be co-ordinated, if at all, only at the regional level. This is the predominant pattern in Ceylon and in English-speaking countries in Africa. The Cambridge Conference stressed the importance of co-operative relationships of central and local government and seemed to take for granted that the partnership system is the preferred form.

(*c*) *Dual system*, in which central ministries administer technical services directly, with local authorities having autonomy *legally* to perform local services and to do what they can to foster local development but actually performing few if any technical services either directly or on behalf of central agencies. Suspicion and conflict rather than unity or co-operation characterize relationships between central government and local authorities. Local government under this system is more an instrument of political decentralization than of social and economic development. This is the predominant pattern in Latin American countries. Formal organization for field co-ordination of central government services is also rare where the dual system exists.

(*d*) *Integrated administrative system*, in which central government agencies directly administer all technical services, with central government area co-ordinators or district administrators responsible for field co-ordination. Such rural local authorities as exist have little control over government activities and staffs in their areas. This is the pattern in most countries in south-east Asia and the Middle East.

The classification has, of course, limitations. The categories are very broad; the difference between the comprehensive and partnership systems lies largely in the extent of reliance upon local authorities as the channel for direct services. The categories do not reflect degrees of decentralization. There could conceivably be greater centralization of authority in a comprehensive local government system where technical personnel are weak than in an integrated administrative system where they may be given wide latitude for programme formulation and execution in consultation with people locally. Moreover, sys-

[7] In these countries, local authorities are being established at district and other area levels where central field services were previously co-ordinated. In India, there are three tiers of local authorities; the council (*panchayat*) at the village level is directly elected by the people, while those at the other two levels (*panchayat semiti* and *zila parishad*) are formed by representatives selected by councils at the next lower tier. The arrangements in Pakistan and the U.A.R. are similar, except that both provide for appointed non-officials and officials to serve alongside elected members on the councils. In all three countries, field technical personnel of central government agencies are, with certain safeguards, being made the servants of the local authorities and the local councils are being given substantial responsibility and authority over planning, budgeting and administration of central government funds allocated to their areas. It is too soon to assess the results of these programmes but it is important to note that all three are designed to increase popular participation in and control over national development programmes in rural areas.

tems of decentralization are not static as might be inferred from the classification. They are constantly changing and, especially in developing countries, are subject to substantial changes as circumstances, ideas and needs change.

The classification is, however, useful. It highlights fundamentally different approaches to decentralization and the problems characteristic of each. For example, countries with comprehensive local government systems are likely to have special problems of technical supervision and support, a special need for an attractive local government career service or for an integrated career system for public employees at all levels, and special arrangements for financing. Under partnership systems, central agencies will have different financial and administrative relationship with local authorities – thus creating special problems of co-ordination. In the dual system, there are special problems in relations between central agencies and 'autonomous' local authorities, and of gaining popular participation in the development schemes of central agencies. Countries with an integrated administrative system may have to devise special methods for relating government programmes to local needs and interests, and also for enlisting popular participation in them. Certain problems are of course common to two or more systems but the classification is a useful tool for comparative study and exchange of information on problems of decentralization. Moreover, in the United Nations meeting at Geneva, reference to a particular system facilitated comprehension of the intended context for a remark or suggestion.

Size of areas and number of levels

The Geneva Working Group found that there is inadequate information on which to prescribe in specific terms the optimum size or sizes of areas for administration of agricultural, education, health and other technical services individually or as a group. It noted that widely differing standards are being used as a basis for demarcating boundaries of field administration and local government units which render most direct services (Egypt, for example, uses a population basis of 15,000 and India, 66,000). Having in mind the commitment of personnel and funds involved in applying such standards on a nationwide scale, the Group recommended that the United Nations and its specialized agencies attempt through further study to provide guidance on the optimum minimum areas for administration of technical services and general governmental functions under different types of situations. It noted important factors such as population density, facility of communications, social organization, and intensity of programming that would affect size of areas. It suggested, as a general rule of thumb in the absence of more specific guides, that where common areas are to be established for administration of technical services the size of the areas should be at least as large as required by the technical service having the largest area requirements for its activity at that level.[8]

The Group also made some useful suggestions on the design of regional planning, field administration and local government areas. For example, it favoured:–

(*a*) establishment of common field areas and headquarters cities, rather than allowing each ministry to choose its own;

[8] The papers prepared by Working Group participants from the United Nations and the specialized agencies provide some general guides on optimum minimum areas for administration of the principal technical services. These papers will, according to present plans, form part of the report on decentralization for national and local development to be issued by the United Nations.

(*b*) design of field areas large enough to accommodate the different needs of the several technical services but with the possibility in mind that they may be transformed into local government areas;

(*c*) creation in large countries of planning regions by grouping field administration and local government areas, due account being taken of historical as well as planning and administrative considerations; and

(*d*) establishment of as few tiers of field administration and local government as possible. Two levels of rural local authorities were considered ideal – the lower level covering the largest area at which a sense of community exists and direct citizen participation in local services is possible and the higher level covering the largest area from which most technical services can be provided efficiently but not so large that councillors cannot meet frequently.

Both meetings observed that local authorities established in an earlier era were generally too small for performance of technical services. Members from Western Nigeria mentioned a plan under consideration for creating special service authorities for major technical services within areas comprehending a number of local authorities. Representatives of the local authorities would serve as the governing bodies of the special service authorities and technical personnel of central agencies would be made available to them. There would be a separate authority for each technical service in a given area, but the same areas would be used by the several services and a single 'local government manager' would serve as secretary of all special service authorities in each area.

Area division of powers and functions

The United Nations Group emphasized that division of responsibilities between central government and local authorities, or between the various local authority levels, differs between countries and is constantly changing everywhere. However, it stated several principles that have wide acceptance:–

(*a*) functions that are plainly local in character (such as water and sewerage, refuse disposal, and local streets), should be allocated to local authorities wherever possible;

(*b*) primary responsibility for execution of functions should be placed at as low a level as it is practicable to have the functions performed satisfactorily;

(*c*) while the central Government should ensure that standards of performance do not fall below an acceptable level, it should not interfere with the operations of local authorities unless this is strictly necessary.

Both meetings recognized that central control over local authorities must be related to the powers and ability of local authorities. The Cambridge Conference, however, stated that its basic assumption was that "only local authorities which are capable of making *effective* use of discretionary power and financial *independence* are capable of fulfilling the purposes of local government" (italics are the author's). The United Nations Group's view, while not contrary to this, stressed the importance of maintaining the responsibility of central ministries for devolved functions of national interest and it listed control measures consistent with the status of local authorities to enable ministries to discharge their responsibilities through local authorities.

The Group classified the various methods of allocating powers and functions to local authorities as follows:–

(*a*) authorization to local authorities to do anything for the good of the locality which is neither forbidden them by law nor within the exclusive jurisdiction of another governmental unit (that is, an 'open-end' arrangement);
(*b*) allocation of specific functions to local authorities by statute (maybe with provision for ministers to allot further functions at their discretion);
(*c*) allocation to local authorities of functions by central government on the basis of a statutory list of subjects, the responsibility for which may be devolved in whole or in part;
(*d*) constitution of local authorities as an integrated part of the machinery of central government.

The Group regarded (*c*) as affording the greatest flexibility because of the opportunity it offers for progressive delegation.

With respect to the mechanics of devolution pursuant to statute, the United Nations Group felt that while it is unnecessary to centralize the issue of warrants or instructions, there is need for a central office to see that a proposed action conforms reasonably with general practice; takes account of the funds required; provides for the consent of the local authorities in doubtful cases, especially where the action would impose an extra financial burden on them; and ensures that the communication is understandable and has been brought to the notice of all public and quasi-public bodies concerned.

The Cambridge Conference stated that local authorities should derive their powers directly from the central Government by statute and not by delegation from a higher local authority. It did not, however, object to delegation from one authority to another where it is done by mutual agreement and pursuant to law. The United Nations Group expressed a similar view. It recognized that a higher authority may have reason to devolve some power to a lower authority, or the lower authority may be justified in seeking some power possessed by a higher authority, but it felt that the proposals should be considered at a higher level than that of the authorities involved.

Popular participation and representation

The United Nations Group stressed the "critical need to associate the people with the government's development effort". Popular participation may occur at any level – from village to national; may be simply advisory, involve decision-making or extend to actual implementation; may cover all decentralized activities or relate only to a single service; and may be informal, organized on a voluntary basis, or formalized by statute. The initiative for organization may come from the people themselves or from the government, such as through community development programmes.

Popular representation is a special form of people's participation – more formalized, with legal backing and, at least above the village level, involves the principle of election. The extent to which a local authority is representative and therefore an instrument of people's participation depends on such factors as the qualifications for voters, nominating procedure, provision for minority representation, and the way the council functions.

The two meetings reached different conclusions on some points relating to the representativeness and methods of functioning of local councils. With respect to the qualifications for voting, the United Nations Group mentioned only age, and by inference, residence, whereas the Cambridge Conference subscribed to residence in harness with the ownership or occupation of property. Both

opposed appointment of persons to local councils, but the United Nations Group mentioned the value of appointing officials of a higher authority as council members or advisers until elected members develop the necessary ability, provided that the elected element is not unduly diluted. The United Nations Group opposed extension of the vote to co-opted members whereas the Cambridge Conference reluctantly admitted the possibility of such members voting where necessary to ensure that co-option serves its purpose. It also commended the granting of *ex officio* membership, presumably with voting rights to recognized chiefs who "still occupy a traditional place in African local affairs and retain the allegiance of their people". Both meetings recognized the desirability of affording representation to ethnic minorities but doing so in a way that is consistent with the majority principle and avoids aggravation of group differences.

With respect to the functioning of councils, the Cambridge Conference was generally opposed to the separation of legislative and executive powers and "as a principle (could) see no reason why the committee system on the one hand and the delegation of powers to officers on the other should not serve as it has in the United Kingdom". The United Nations Group recognized the value of committees where the council is "too unwieldy in size", but favoured a chief executive, a career officer responsible to the council and its committees for 'implementation' of policies. Within these similarly worded conclusions lies opposition at Cambridge and approval in Geneva to the idea that the council-manager system in the United States is adaptable to local authority administration in many developing countries.

The Geneva Group noted that the methods for achieving popular participation and representation may yield any number of permutations and combinations, sufficient presumably to satisfy administrative needs in widely differing and rapidly changing circumstances. For example, where there is lack of popular response to needed changes community development workers backed by technicians skilled in community development methods might be introduced, followed by training of local persons with influence in the communities, the establishment of advisory bodies and eventually the entrusting of decisions and administration to multi-purpose or single purpose representative bodies which are subject to central controls depending, as mentioned earlier, on their powers and ability.

The United Nations Group noted that the criteria of 'representativeness' may be different for special purpose than for multi-purpose bodies, and indicated that it may be advantageous to establish special statutory bodies where:–

(*a*) local councils do not possess the technical competence to administer a service;
(*b*) a special programme requires a greater intensity of attention and energy than the council can give it;
(*c*) the minimum area or population for administration of a service differs substantially from that of local authorities; or
(*d*) there is a special clientèle for a service.

Separate arrangements may be needed to co-ordinate the local activities of special purpose bodies that are organized on a national scale. Co-ordination of special purpose local authorities within a local authority area may best be achieved by the multi-purpose local authority.

Where a joint service for two or more local authorities is to be organized, a special board consisting of representatives of the councils concerned is usually

formed or arrangements made within a higher level authority to perform the function.

Staffing decentralized services

The United Nations Group listed the following personnel requirements for effective decentralization: availability of qualified staff for sustained work in the area to be served; good *rapport* between the staff and the people; ability of staff members to work together; and adequate administrative and technical support and supervision.

It sketched the situation confronting developing countries as follows: critical shortages of qualified personnel, although paradoxically some countries have the added complication of over-staffing; difficulty of attracting qualified persons to work in rural areas due to the natural attractions of the capital city and higher salaries and prestige attached to work there, and the lack of amenities and public facilities in rural areas; lack of experience of community leaders in guiding and supervising technical services; a tradition of paternalism and authoritarianism in relations between government servants and the people; differences in compensation and allowances between field representatives of different agencies who are supposed to work together and substantially higher salaries paid to central government than to local authority employees.

The measures recommended to remedy these conditions regardless of a country's system of decentralization are noteworthy although few are novel:–

(*a*) acceleration of pre-entry and in-service training of technical and professional personnel, establishment of combined inspection and on-the-job training services, and orientation of local councilmen;

(*b*) arrangements for training of auxiliaries who are from the area itself and training them in the areas;

(*c*) more emphasis on training in administrative attitudes (for getting work done, for example), human relations, group dynamics, use of audio-visual aids, and rural development techniques;

(*d*) establishing a career system under which young people would be started in rural areas, aided in their further professional development, and assured of advancement for meritorious service;

(*e*) requiring those who receive training at the expense either of the government or of international organizations to accept employment for a certain period at such field posts as the government may determine or with local authorities;

(*f*) giving special allowances (such as additional pension credit) for service in hardship posts;

(*g*) enhancing the prestige attached to work in rural areas;

(*h*) adjusting salary scales and allowances to eliminate any financial advantage from working in the capital and also to eliminate differences in compensation between agencies.

The Cambridge Conference expressed similar views. It probed more deeply into the financial and administrative implications of making central and local government conditions of service comparable but decided, as did the United Nations Group, that the advantages of making them comparable outweigh the disadvantages.

The United Nations Group intimated (and the author believes) that a good case can be made for a unified civil service system for both central and local

government in a comprehensive local government system, at least in the early stages of development of such a system, provided of course that it is duly insulated from politics.

Both meetings favoured a unified civil service system for local authority personnel in preference to separate systems for each authority. A unified system offers greater career opportunities for personnel, facilitates standardization of qualifications, and reduces the danger of corruption and nepotism. The Cambridge Conference thought that the creation of a unified system had to be gradual, perhaps starting on a regional basis. It recommended that "appointments to the local government service should be the responsibility of an impartial statutory board which would not be subject to detailed control either by local authorities or by the Ministry of Local Government but would be bound by statutory regulations made by the Minister". The Cambridge Conference made other useful suggestions regarding the composition and functioning of the board.

It is the author's opinion that systematic comparative study of unified civil service systems is badly needed. Developed, as well as developing, countries stand to benefit from such a study and should be included within its scope.

The Cambridge Conference made a number of specific suggestions regarding local government training, including training abroad. A special organization for training is needed, with appropriate provision for local government training. The somewhat distinctive problems of in-service training of officers now holding higher posts and those expected to hold them in the future should be tackled concurrently. Despite the shortage of qualified local government officers and facilities for training them, the Conference urged that governments start on the basis of what is required rather than limit training perspectives to the funds that appear available at the moment. The Conference, addressing itself to training in English-speaking areas in Africa, expressed preference for training in other African areas with similar patterns of local government. It cautioned that only officers with advanced knowledge of their own system and a broad educational background should be posted to local authorities in Britain and only the most senior local government officers should receive training in other developed countries.

Financial aspects of decentralization

The United Nations Group pointed out how problems of financial policy and administration and approaches to their solution differ under the different systems of decentralization. For example, under the comprehensive local government system, there are special requirements and problems in supplementing local revenues and in satisfying both central and local interests in the formulation, approval, and execution of local authority budgets. A partnership system is likely to make considerable use of grants for specific purposes. In a dual system where central ministries administer direct services and do not have common areas, overcentralization of financial authority is often a principal problem. The integrated administrative system may also have problems of overcentralization as well as of gaining local financial support for local services.

The group developed general guides for dealing with problems of central-field financial relationships and of providing at the central level for the taxing powers of local authorities, grants-in-aid and loans to local authorities and supervision of financial operations of local authorities, without identifying the ramifications of these under different systems of decentralization. The Cambridge Conference covered much the same ground relating to local authorities,

although the United Nations Group analysed in more detail the problem of corruption and measures to deal with it.

Both meetings recommended that local authorities be empowered to impose a variety of taxes. The Cambridge Conference suggested, however, that rural local authorities ideally should rely primarily for their revenue on a sur charge which they might levy on a graduated tax collected normally by central government, and should supplement this by special purpose taxes. The latter, sometimes called earmarked taxes, are especially useful in getting services started because people are often more willing to tax themselves for a specific service. Both meetings favoured one unit for collection of central and local government taxes in a locality; while recognizing the advantages administratively of having this as a central government unit, they were inclined to feel that local authorities should at least collect the special taxes they impose for specific purposes and might also, if given a commission for collection of central government taxes, prove effective as the single tax collection unit. The local authority should in any case levy local taxes even if a central government unit collects them.

The two meetings were generally in agreement on the uses of special purpose, block, and deficiency grants to local authorities:–to finance services of national interest; to enable poorer areas, through equalization grants, to maintain essential services at the same level as those of richer areas; to improve and control the quality of services; and temporarily, to serve as an incentive to get services started.

As mentioned, the United Nations Group focused attention on the problem of corruption and methods of dealing with it. The main causes of corruption are: traditions which make it normal for officials to receive gifts for performance of a service; family favouritism and nepotism; low and irregularly paid salaries; the bad example of political leaders; the delays in official procedures which induce bribes to speed up the process; and laxity of controls inviting misappropriation of funds and contract irregularities.

The Group considered the following measures effective in dealing with corruption:–

(*a*) prepare clear and practical rules of conduct for public servants;

(*b*) make it illegal for members of local authority councils to discuss a contract or other matter in which they have a special interest until they have declared that interest to their council;

(*c*) regulate in other ways contract matters and other forms of purchasing to ensure open competitive bidding wherever possible and inspection of contract performance by an official other than the one who was involved in the award;

(*d*) hold council meetings in public and open the record of proceedings to the public;

(*e*) ensure the adequacy of the financial and administrative system by prescribing efficient procedures, providing for internal checks, helping to instal new methods where necessary, and training local personnel ;

(*f*) supervise those who handle public funds and make surprise checks on the internal audit system;

(*g*) check the honesty and legality of transactions through regular post-audit by the central Government;

(*h*) give citizens access to public accounts, subject to payment of a fee and other conditions to protect the public interest, and allow them to present inquiries or complaints to the auditor.

Central institutions required for rational decentralization and for the provision of central services to local authorities

The Cambridge Conference agreed that "it is a mistake – where rapid development is the primary objective – to maintain 'local autonomy' or 'freedom from central government interference' as the governing principle in central-local relations. Poor local governments, like poor people, are likely to get poorer if left to their own resources. They need help if they are to overcome their disabilities and realize their potentialities for useful service. Local government must . . . respond to the strong popular demand for social and economic progress".

The United Nations Group took a similar view and considered the question of what central agencies are required to foster rational decentralization of government powers and functions and to improve the capability of local authorities. It agreed on the following:—

(*a*) Central offices required for rational decentralization:–

(1) central organization and methods office and similar units in each major ministry are needed to work toward sound organization of government at the centre and rational decentralization to field areas and devolution to local authorities. Poor organization at the centre is an obvious impediment to effective organization of decentralized services;

(2) central planning and budgeting agencies are needed to encourage local planning and to relate it to regional and national plans, to plan major public works and other national measures needed to accelerate local development, and to equalize opportunities for essential services between rich and poor areas;

(3) a community development agency is usually needed to stimulate self-help effort of the people, to help in training technical and administrative personnel in community development methods, and in other ways to foster popular participation in government activities.

(*b*) One or more central government agencies or other central institutions are required to render the following services to local authorities:–

(1) to exercise general surveillance over central-local government relations, to serve as an advocate of local authority interests among central government agencies, and to review all proposed legislation relating to local authorities;

(2) to render technical assistance to local authorities in planning, legal matters, budgeting and accounting, taxation, procurement, organization and methods, research, and the functioning of local councils;

(3) to advise and assist on personnel matters, including recruitment, promotion, pension schemes, and the establishment of a unified civil service system or, in its absence, individual civil service systems;

(4) to audit and inspect local authority accounts and operations;

(5) to loan money to local authorities readily and at reasonable rates;

(6) to train staff and provide orientation for new councilmen.

Usually, several central government units and semi-autonomous or non-governmental institutions are required to perform these services: a ministry or department of local government; a national municipal bank; a local government public service commission; an institute of public administration with courses in local government administration or an institute devoted to training, research, and technical assistance for local authorities; a union of local auth-

orities; and special offices in finance, public works and other ministries devoted exclusively to the support of local authority operations in their fields. The most important organization in developing countries, having comprehensive local government systems or partnership systems, is the ministry of local government; in countries having a dual system, it is more likely to be a semi-autonomous institute of municipal administration (as in Brazil) or a national municipal bank (as in Guatemala); in European countries where unions of local authorities developed strength before the dual system was replaced by a comprehensive or partnership system, it is likely to be the union of local authorities – as in the Netherlands.

International technical assistance

Both meetings recognized the potential value of the United Nations and other international programmes of technical assistance in helping governments to organize and staff central agencies and institutions for the provision of technical, financial and training services to local authorities. In addition, the group at Geneva suggested that the United Nations sponsor regional seminars for senior officers of ministries or agencies dealing with local government on 'Central services to Local Authorities', using its material on decentralization and the study on this subject by the International Union of Local Authorities as starting points for discussion. It also suggested that the United Nations arrange study tours for the above-mentioned officers to visit countries in other regions which have had significant experience with decentralization for purposes of fostering development.

In conclusion, both meetings recognized the value of international exchange of information between administrators and scholars on methods of decentralization, especially on the use of local authorities, to accelerate social and economic development. They recognized the ending of an era of substantial isolation in the evolution of national governmental systems, one in which the emphasis in central-local relations has often been placed either on 'central control' or 'local autonomy'. Where central governments are willing and able to dedicate themselves to improving the living conditions of their people, the terms 'partnership', 'interdependence', and 'unity of purpose' are more suggestive of the principles which should underlie relationships between units at all levels. Thus in developing countries where representative governments replace alien or oppressive rule and are responsive to the surging desire of people for a better life, national entities – both governmental and non-governmental – are exploring ways of joining hands with local communities to foster national and local development. Through the United Nations and other agencies, they are able to tap the resources of the world community in this endeavour.

Migrant Labour in West Africa

by R. Mansell Prothero[1]

Comparison of labour migration in West, East and Central Africa

In most of the industrialized countries of the world there has been a continuing movement of people from the countryside to the towns for at least the last hundred years. Better economic opportunities and new amenities offered by them have exercised a strong attraction and in some countries declining rural prosperity has been the cause as well as the result of such movements. Similarly in Africa in the present century there has been a mounting outflow of people from the rural areas, with their indigenous subsistence agriculture, to places of mineral exploitation, industrial development and large-scale agricultural production.[2] Mining and industry in South Africa and plantation agriculture in eastern and central Africa have depended for their labour supply on the attractions that they offer to several millions of migrant workers who come to work, usually for limited periods, and then return home again. These journeys between home village and place of work may be repeated by a migrant labourer many times during his active adult life. Among the large-scale and more developed economic enterprises of central, eastern and southern Africa much has been known for quite a long time of the patterns of migrant labour movements, of the source areas of migrants and of the lives and conditions of labourers (usually without wives and families) in their places of work. Many of the movements are now organized, with recruiting at the sources of supply, transport (even by air) to places of work and subsequent repatriation on completion of contracts.

In West Africa the situation is rather different. Large-scale economic enterprises, comparable with the European-owned mines of the Rand or the Copperbelt of Northern Rhodesia, are much fewer. There have been important economic developments, particularly in the production of a wide range of cash crops for export, but generally the production units have been small and have not had the same need for an organized labour supply such as is required on plantations or large farms. But in West Africa, mining and industry, the many small-scale producers of export crops and the organizations which handle their produce, all have labour requirements which are not always satisfied locally so that movements of migrant labour have developed to meet them. These movements have been less organized than on the other side of the continent, and since they are freer and more spontaneous there is consequently a lack of information about them – of the numbers of migrants, of the areas from which they originate, of the routes and means of transport to work and the significance of migrants in the places in which they find work. Motives for seeking work and the social and economic implications of migration in the areas of labour supply and demand have been known only imperfectly if at all. The increased pace of economic development during the last decade has undoubtedly increased the demands of migrant labour and this has brought an increased awareness of the need to know more about its many various features. Many individual studies of different aspects of migrant labour have been made from Senegal in the west to

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[2] T. Soper, 'Labour migration in Africa', *J.A.A.*, XI (1959), pp. 93-99.

Adamawa and the Cameroons in the east of the region, but no attempt has yet been made to assess the situation over the whole of West Africa.

A meeting of the Human Sciences Section of the Congrés International des Africanistes de l'Ouest (C.I.A.O.) at Accra in 1959 was devoted mainly to a consideration of migration in West Africa. The papers that were read there represented the uncoordinated activities of individual workers yet illustrated some of the common features of migrations in West Africa and at the same time gave some evidence of their diverse character.[3] Of a different nature was a co-ordinated study of migrant movements in Ivory Coast and Ghana inaugurated by the Human Sciences Committee of the Council for Technical Co-operation in Africa south of the Sahara (C.C.T.A.) at a meeting in Bukavu in 1955. This study was directed by Dr. Jean Rouch of the Musée de l'Homme, Paris, the greatest authority on West African migrations, and the results of his work and that of his collaborators were reviewed and discussed at a symposium convened by C.C.T.A. at Niamey in the Republic of Niger in February 1961.[4]

C.I.A.O. studies – Nigeria, Ghana, Senegal, Dahomey, Togo and Portuguese Guinea

The papers read at the C.I.A.O. meeting ranged widely in the field of migration studies. Labour migration is a product of economic development in the present century but population mobility has been a feature of life in Africa from time immemorial. Rouch drew attention to this in an introductory survey of past and present-day movements.[5] One particular historical movement considered was that of the Jukun people who now live in the Benue valley in Nigeria.[6] From a review of the evidence of various authorities it was suggested that the arrival of this group in West Africa was related to one of the waves of migration which moved along the northern savanna belt, a well-known and much used route right up to the present day, from the region of Darfur in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

Present-day migrant movements in West Africa are generally along a north-south axis; from some of the northern parts where there are relatively dense populations, but where economic conditions are often marginal, to areas of more advanced economic development and greater potential in the south (see diagram on page 151). Attention was drawn to the situation in the north-east of Ghana where for a long time migration has been regarded as the usual way of alleviating problems of over-population and land hunger.[7] Attempts to resettle permanently the Frafra people from this area have not been particularly successful and amelioration of the poor economic conditions is now being sought in schemes of land planning and conservation. From further north in the Republic of Volta large numbers of people, especially the Mossi, migrate to southern Ghana, particularly to the cocoa-growing areas of Ashanti and to the coastal towns.[8] A minority of them settle permanently and in so doing develop

[3] The papers are published in the *Bulletin de l'Institut Francais d'Afrique Noire*, XXII, 3-4, (1960).

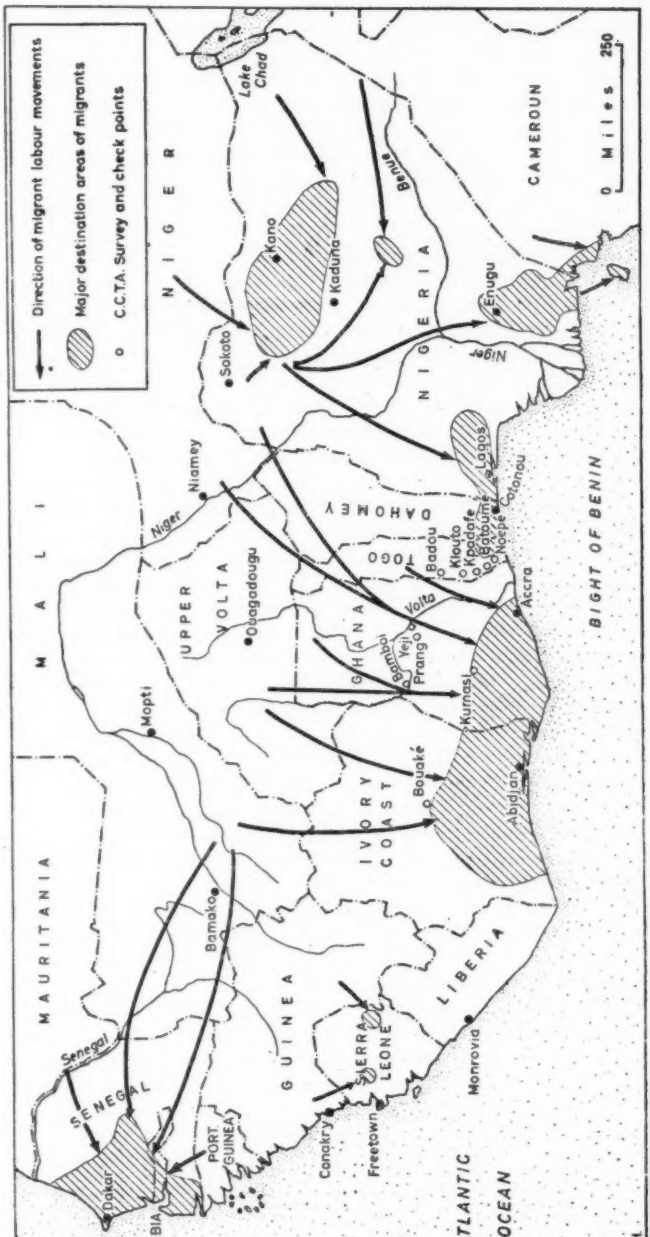
[4] Various duplicated working papers were circulated before the symposium and reports subsequently. Plans were made at the symposium for the publication of the results of the surveys.

[5] Jean Rouch, 'Problèmes relatifs de l'étude des migrations traditionelles et des migrations actuelles en Afrique occidentale', *op. cit.*, pp. 369-78.

[6] Mohamed Riad, 'The Jukun: an example of African migrations in the sixteenth century', *op. cit.*, pp. 476-85.

[7] T. E. Hilton, 'Frafra resettlement and the population problem in Zuarungu', *op cit.*, pp. 426-42. See also 'Land planning and resettlement in Northern Ghana' *Geography*, XLIV, 4 (1959, pp. 227-40.)

[8] G. Le Moal, 'Un aspect de l'emigration: la fixation de Voltaiques au Ghana', *op. cit.*, pp. 446-54.


Direction of migrant labour movements
Major destination areas of migrants
C.C.T.A. Survey and check points
0 Miles 250
MAURITANIA
MALI
NIGER
NIGERIA
CAMEROUN
UPPER VOLTA
GHANA
TOGO
DAHOMEY
IVORY COAST
GUINEA
SIERRA LEONE
LIBERIA
GAMBIA
PORT GUINEA
SENEGAL
ATLANTIC OCEAN
BIGHT OF BENIN
Lake Chad
Benue
Niger
Volta
Senegal
Dakar
Conakry
Freetown
Monrovia
Bamako
Mopti
Niamey
Sokoto
Kano
Kaduna
Enugu
Lagos
Cotonou
Porto Novo
Abomey
Kpalimé
Klouto
Badou
Accra
Kumasi
Yeji
Prang
Bouaké
Abidjan
Odagadougu
AGH

a way of life which is adapted to the requirements of foreign conditions, but which at the same time preserves some of the features of their own traditions. These people move southwards because of the unsatisfactory conditions in their home areas, as do the Toucouleur who migrate from the valley of the Senegal to work in Dakar.[9] They seek the economic opportunities that are to be found in the most developed town in West Africa (though all West African towns exert a comparable influence), and they are attracted by the amenities that it offers. The majority of them are young men who stay for periods of less than one year and their movements to and from Dakar are seasonal in character.

Similar features are found in the migrant movements in Portuguese Guinea, with a marked variation among the different tribes in the amount of movement that takes place.[10] There are some movements which are neither inter-tribal nor inter-territorial but which occur for various reasons among one ethnic group and are thus comparatively localized. Examples of these movements are to be found among the Bariba of northern Dahomey and a study of them has shown that in the past and at present they exercise profound influences upon the social structure of this group.[11] Intra-territorial movements over comparatively short distances may be due to economic motivation, as with the farmers from the Akwapim towns to the north of Accra who moved westwards into Akim country, purchasing land and starting cocoa cultivation in the early decades of this century.[12] Though they have become firmly established in these areas they still retain strong ties with their home towns and maintain their tribal individuality.

This maintenance of tribal identity may be accentuated to some degree by migrants generally in West Africa when they are away from home; people from the same group will 'stick together' when they are in a strange country. Rouch points out that while migration inevitably weakens the ties of people with their home areas, at the same time it promotes new forms of association which may be based in part on the original tribal groupings. This may be true of adult migrants but a study of the Kabre from northern Togo queries whether it is so for children who accompany their parents on migrations.[13] Admittedly it is not common for them to do this, but where it happens they are likely to be more receptive to various influences, particularly through any education that they may receive when they are away from home. This may be a factor that will help to merge tribal and ethnic differences, such as are still important in present-day Africa, into feelings of national identity in the newly independent countries. It is analogous to 'second and third generation Americans' who developed from the widely divergent immigrant groups which poured into the United States in the latter part of the nineteenth and at the beginning of the twentieth century.

C.C.T.A. studies – Ghana and Ivory Coast

The C.C.T.A. studies of migration directed by Rouch have been the most elaborate undertaken in West Africa, or for that matter in any part of tropical Africa, and a team of research workers has been involved in them together with a considerable number of field staff. The research workers were mainly French

[9] Aboulaye Diop, 'Enquête sur la migration Toucouleur à Dakar', *op. cit.*, pp. 393-418.
[10] A. Carreira et A-M. de Meirles, 'Quelques notes sur les mouvements migratoires des populations de la province Portugaise de Guinée', *op. cit.*, pp. 379-92.
[11] J. Lombard, 'Le problème des migrations "locales", leur rôle dans les changements d'une société en transition (Dahomey),' *op. cit.*, pp. 455-66.
[12] Polly Hill, 'The migration of southern Ghanaian cocoa farmers', *op. cit.*, 419-25. See also, 'The migrant cocoa farmers of southern Ghana', *Africa*, XXXI, 3 (1960), pp. 209-30.
[13] J-Cl. Pauvert, 'Migrations et education', *op. cit.*, pp. 467-75.

and the field staff, who were employed in interviewing migrants, were drawn from the ethnic groups which contribute most of the migrants. Ivory Coast and Ghana, major *foci* for migrant labour in West Africa, were the main bases for the studies which were also concerned indirectly with the adjacent territories (such as Mali, Haute Volta, Niger and Togo) that are the major source areas of migrants. In general terms the movements are motivated by the relatively unfavourable economic conditions and lack of economic development in the source areas and the relatively advanced economic developments that have taken place in agriculture, mining and commerce in the southern parts of Ivory Coast and Ghana.

The main studies were made in 1958 and 1959, beginning in the Ivory Coast and subsequently extending to Ghana, though in the case of the latter Rouch had undertaken independent studies some years previously, the results of which were published in 1957.[14] One of the main aims was to provide statistical data on migrant movements which would be suitable for analysis and which would be comparable for all places in which they were collected. Standard questionnaires were therefore designed for use in Ivory Coast and Ghana and sample groups of migrants were questioned over twelve month periods at various check-points (see diagram). General questionnaires asked for ethnographic and demographic data and specific questionnaires were used to build up a more detailed picture of migrations; they recorded the activities of migrants, their reasons for choosing particular areas for work and details of their journeys. In Ivory Coast it was possible to concentrate all activities for the collection of statistical data at Bouaké, an important centre of communications on which almost all migrants moving either north or south are obliged to converge. Data was collected at the railway station and at the bus and lorry park there, supplemented by sociological enquiries concerned with Bouaké as a centre of attraction and transit for migrants. In Ghana the problem of selecting centres for the collecting of data was more complicated for while Kumasi, the capital of Ashanti, is the most important migrant centre, it does not have the exclusive function of Bouaké in this respect. However, migrants travelling on the north-south routes in Ghana must cross the Volta river and check-points were set up at the main ferries at Yeji and Bamboi and subsidiary enquiries were made at Otisu and Bouipé.[15] A sociological study comparable with that of Bouaké was made of Kumasi as a migrant centre. There are also movements of migrants into Ghana from the east, via Dahomey and Togo, and these were recorded at the frontier posts of Aflao, Noepé, Batoumé, Kpadafe, Klouto and Bado.

Particular items of trade contribute significantly to the movements of people; the carrying of kola nuts, for example, from the southern forest areas where they are grown to the northern parts of West Africa where they are chewed as a stimulant has been going on for centuries.[16] Data was collected on this trade and systematic checks were carried out on the cattle trade which is largely in the hands of Fulani people who trek beasts from the northern parts of West Africa, which are relatively free from trypanosomiasis, to the southern areas of dense population where the higher level of economic development allows the inclusion of a certain amount of meat in people's diets. The main cattle markets

[14] Jean Rouch, 'Migrations au Ghana', *Journal de Société des Africanistes*, 1957, pp. 33-196.

[15] For earlier studies of migrant labour movements across the Volta ferries see R. B. Davison, *Migrant labour in the Gold Coast*. Department of Economics, University College of the Gold Coast, Accra, 1954.

[16] M. H. LeLong, 'La route du Kola', *Revue de Géographie Humaine et d'Ethnologie*, 4, pp. 35-40.

are at Bouaké in Ivory Coast and Prang in Ghana, and surveys were made at these places. Similarly the trade in dried and smoked fish from Mopti and Niamey on the River Niger was studied at the fish markets in Bouaké and Kumasi. Besides the major enquiries made on migration a variety of subsidiary but related surveys were carried out; these included studies of the labour market, some aspects of agricultural labour in Ivory Coast, relations between migrants and native women, prostitution, alcoholism and juvenile delinquency.

The statistical data collected was processed in Ivory Coast and, together with a number of working papers, was considered at the symposium in Niamey in February 1961. Discussion ranged over the methodology of the surveys, the role of the migrants in the countries from which they come and in those to which they go and the ethnographic and demographic data that had been collected. The symposium drew attention to the problems of organizing surveys of migrant labour, of the need for efficiency and for studies in depth to avoid superficiality. Surveys need to be undertaken by teams of specialists representing the various disciplines of the social sciences (such as sociology, ethnology, statistics, economics, geography) involved in the study of migrations. The terms of reference are so wide that the individual, even if an expert, can only deal competently with certain aspects. Relationships between public health and migrations were considered and recommendations were made concerning the desirability of setting up medical centres for the examination of migrants, the issue of health certificates and the need for vaccination against smallpox and immunization against yellow fever. Greater social protection for migrants is needed in respect of such things as housing, feeding, medical care, wages, travel, customs and immigration formalities.

Migration – motives and results

In the Ivory Coast/Ghana project attention was concentrated primarily on the areas to which the migrants go in search of work, with comparatively little attention being paid to the areas from which they originate. For the total picture of migration one is as important as the other. Economic opportunity in better developed areas may offer an incentive for migration, but this is only likely to be followed if conditions are unsatisfactory in other areas so that people from them will wish to take up the opportunities for employment offered to them elsewhere. There is probably strong economic incentive to migrate from most of the northern areas of West Africa but material factors are not always the strongest determinant. It has been argued recently for one group of people in the Cameroons, who are involved in labour migration to plantations in the south of the country, that fear of the practice of witchcraft at home is the main motivating factor.[17] It is not clear what influence the departure of able-bodied migrants may have on their home areas; the numbers away are often large. Between 25 and 50 per cent. of the adult males leave home each year from parts of north-western Nigeria.[18] But in this case and in that of many comparable areas in West Africa the absence is during the dry season when there are very few tasks to occupy them at home. They are away for about six months of the year, leaving after the harvest has been taken and returning in time for the next farming season when the rains begin. Agriculture in the home areas therefore

[17] E. & S. Ardener and W. A. Warmington, *'Plantation and village in the Cameroons'* (1960), pp. 218-22.

[18] R. M. Prothero, *Migrant labour from Sokoto Province, Northern Nigeria* (1959) and 'Migratory labour from north-western Nigeria'. *Africa* XXVII, 3 (1957), pp. 251-61.

does not suffer and the absence of hundreds of thousands for half of the year means a very considerable conserving of food supplies. There is the question whether migrant movements in West Africa will remain predominantly seasonal in character or whether, as in other parts of Africa, they will change, so that those involved remain away from home for longer periods until they become like the 'lost ones' from the native reserves in South Africa. When absences from home areas are prolonged they are likely to affect agriculture since the shortage of active labour will lead to deterioration in standards of farming.

Apart from the effects of and on economic conditions in the home areas of migrants, there is also the need to consider the social influences of migration on such things as tribal stability for the group and marital stability for the individual. New political and religious influences may be spread by the movements of people and it is well-known that political developments in the Gold Coast from 1951 onwards, leading to independence in 1957, exercised a profound influence on adjacent countries which were then still under French colonial administration.

Investigations of conditions in the home areas of migrants would be a logical development from the studies carried out in Ivory Coast and Ghana and it has been recommended that C.C.T.A. should consider implementing such a programme. It was also suggested that investigations of all aspects of migrant labour should be extended to other parts of tropical Africa. There is a great dearth of reliable information and only generalizations are possible for many areas. In the Federation of Nigeria, for example, there is some information on migration from Sokoto Province in the north-west of the country and data (numbers only) on the movement of labourers to the plantations on Fernando Po, but there is little else. The data collected in the 1952/53 census in Nigeria unfortunately provided no information on the movements of people in the country. Labourers from Northern Nigeria are known to migrate to work on the cocoa farms and in the towns of Western Nigeria, but nothing is known of the importance of this supply and whether there would be any appreciable effect if for some reason it was withdrawn. Without entering into arguments concerned with the advantages and disadvantages of migrant labour, and much may be said on the subject, it is a fact that one of the most important features of the demographic situation in Africa at the present time is the mobility of large numbers of people for many different reasons. Not enough is known about these movements and much more needs to be known to promote the social, economic and medical well-being of those involved in and affected by them both directly and indirectly.[19]

[19] R. M. Prothero, 'Population movements and problems of malaria eradication in Africa'. *Bulletin of the World Health Organization*, 24 (1961), pp. 405-25; and 'Migrants and malaria'. *Bulletin, Inter-African Labour Institute*, VIII, 1 (1961), pp. 87-97.

The Malayan Federal Land Development Authority

by D. E. M. Fiennes[1]

The Land Development Authority is the spearhead of the drive for rural development in Malaya. Since the first land settlement project was started early in 1957 as a sole pilot scheme in that year, some 4,500 families have been settled in 35 settlement schemes in which the total planned area will amount to 120,000 acres for 12,000 families at full development. It is planned to start twelve new schemes a year for 4,800 families during the current five-year plan.

Background

The idea of a Land Development Authority to be set up as an independent statutory corporation was proposed by a committee appointed in 1955 'to consider the development of new areas for land settlement'. The committee's recommendations were accepted, and the Land Development Ordinance setting up the Authority was passed by the then Legislative Council in 1956.

The background to the need was the almost complete cessation of normal land alienation since 1941. During the Japanese occupation from 1941 to 1945 there was no regular alienation, though thousands of people were forced by the necessity of eating to fell jungle and cultivate crops on crown land. After the war the communist emergency, which started in 1948, exploded before the country's land administration and survey department had been adequately re-established. Immediate emergency duties were from then on a full-time job for district officers, who in Malaya are also the land officers. They were involved in district war executive committees, in food denial programmes, and in the gigantic population concentration schemes (by which 500,000 people were concentrated in defensible new villages to segregate them from the terrorist forces in the jungle). After these 15 years when there was no expansion of Malaya's cultivated acreage, and even contraction through the emergency concentration of population, there were by 1956 some 200,000 land applications awaiting action in land offices; some areas were becoming grossly overcrowded with thousands of young men unemployed or under-employed, drifting inevitably into the cities; and the basis of the country's future wealth, which rests on the production of the land, was being prejudiced. Something large and imaginative had to be done.

The planners started with many advantages which are seldom present in such profusion in other territories faced with similar problems. For that reason any plans by other governments to copy what Malaya is doing must be analysed with the greatest caution; certain basic principles of land development are probably universally true, but their application may differ widely under differing circumstances.

The first advantage was the existence in Malaya of vast areas of crown land available for disposal by state governments. And sufficient of this land was accessible from the existing road system for an immediate start to be made, while an expanded programme of rural road building was being planned for

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the later stages. By and large, with the exception of a few early grants and concessions, all occupied land in the Malay States has for many years been held on crown lease and has been registered after survey. Apart from limited areas of Malay reservation, no land is denied proper agricultural use by systems of customary or communal tenure.

The second advantage, deriving from the first, was the universal acceptance of and wish for individual land ownership, with personal benefit accruing from the rewards of good cultivation. The Malay rural communities, though traditionally little welfare states in many respects, have always recognized land as personal property. Thus no revolution in traditional farming attitudes was necessary.

The third great advantage was the existence of proven crops of high value, already grown and accepted by smallholding farmers as well as by estates, demonstrating the great benefit of both large and small producers growing the same crop; heavily capitalized estate agriculture leading the way for the small grower. A farmer with 8 acres of high-yielding rubber properly cultivated can expect a cash income each year of not less than £500 for himself and his family. With such income in prospect, the economists need have few qualms about the repayment of capital invested, given sound administration.

Planning therefore was largely a matter of deciding on a form of sound administration. The objects were self-evident; methods to achieve those objects had to be worked out, and proved by experience, before huge sums of money and the lives of thousands of farmers could be committed to the immense programme of land development which was necessary.

Foundation Principles

The planning committee, and later the Authority's first board, decided on basic principles to be followed. These principles will be explained at some length as, whatever mistakes in detail may have been made, they have remained sound and may be of wider application.

The decision to set up a separate statutory authority at all was a difficult one. It cut right across the functions and responsibilities of the land administration which, war and emergency apart, had not in the past proved ineffective. In fact, Malaya had not in the past lacked successful large-scale settlement schemes, such as those at Tanjong Karang, Sungei Manik and elsewhere, though they had been restricted to drainage and irrigation schemes for rice; these schemes had been a successful co-ordination of the work of the Drainage and Irrigation Department with that of the district administration. But the present need was to open up new areas of virgin land, often remote from existing population and administration, and to move farmers in some cases from one state to another. It was proposed to grow cash crops such as rubber, of which no government department had experience. It was therefore decided that specialist land development staff would have to be trained in techniques outside the scope of any one government department, over-stepping the boundaries of states, each of which runs its own land administration; for reasons of human relationships continuity would be essential, and staff should not be subject to the normal uncertainties of government postings; it also seemed that human qualities of leadership would be more important than paper qualifications, and that recuitment within the terms of government regulations and salary scales would be difficult. So an autonomous statutory authority was decided on.

Another break with the principles of the past was that the initiative for land alienation would come from the Government or the Authority, not from the applicant for land. Previously the drill was for anyone who wanted crown land to ask for the bit he wanted – of any size, shape or location. If the application was approved, a settlement officer would peg it out, the survey department would survey it and in due course a land title would be issued, subject to payment of premium, quit rent and cultivation conditions. As no detailed soil survey had been done, there was no means of ensuring that the land was to be put to the best use. Scattered alienation posed problems of access, public services and so on. Holdings applied for might, through ignorance of the applicant, be too small or unsuitable for a decent living. And in any case survey of scattered applications was not the best use of the overstrained officers of the survey department. In future, there was to be country planning as well as town planning. Land for settlement projects would have topographical and soil surveys completed before a start was made; there would be central village areas, with provision for schools and water supplies and other social services; plots of land for each settler would be pegged out in advance; drains and roads would be centrally planned for the scheme as a whole. A later development has been to fell and clear the whole area in advance and for the settler to enter on cleared land.

Next an attitude of mind had to be changed. All over Malaya, and in many other countries, land had been alienated on the principle of giving everyone 'enough' to live on. No one was to be greedy. If 300 acres of land were available and 100 people wanted it, let each have 3 acres; 3 acres is 'enough' for a family to live on. The Authority decided early that there is no future in following a policy of equality in poverty. The object of the new settlements is to plan full employment for each family and the maximum family income possible; that seems the only satisfactory future for farming families who even now are largely literate and in the next generation will certainly be quite well educated. It is only by fostering a farming community well above subsistence level, well above the level of having 'enough', that a progressive cash economy will penetrate the rural districts, that rural industry and services will absorb surplus rural population, that educated boys will remain in their villages and not move to the towns, that a rural market will expand to buy the goods of expanding urban industries. That battle of principle is now won, but not without strong rear-guard fighting by the traditional administrations in some state governments who often prefer to hoard their asset of state land rather than to use it to create wealth.

The next principle followed from the last, that the farmer should grow the crop or crops which are most profitable; in this case rubber, oilpalms and other cash crops for the market. Here again there was opposition – perhaps connected with the cold baths and puritan up-bringing of English public schools. To grow rubber, the argument runs, is to incur the danger of committing the Malay farmer to the Chinese dealer and the untrustworthy vagaries of distant markets. There is, however, apparently something noble in plodding through the mud of a ricefield behind a buffalo in the hot sun, thus (with the help of a government subsidy on the price of rice) ensuring that the farmer has enough to eat, but equally that he does not have the price of a cinema or cabaret ticket in his pocket. Malaya now plans for rich farmers, even if unprotected from the temptations of wealth.

Land development is not slum clearance. Here again there has had to be some change of attitude. The world is littered with the relics of projects which have ignored this principle, and unfortunately political pressure has forced on the Malayan Authority a small minority of schemes which are less successful than they should be. It is all too easy to follow the line of least resistance, to try to develop a tract of land which has (probably for good reasons such as flooding or infertility) been by-passed by generations of cultivators. It is easier still to recruit the unemployed as settlers, forgetting that on the whole the unemployed are a natural selection of those without initiative. And it is even yet easier to follow the tenets of democracy and agree with state councillors that the new settlers should be drawn by quota from each district in the state, and that district councils should carry out the selection.

The result is usually a fine selection of the one-armed, of the one-eyed, of gaol-birds and of young men who cause too much trouble with the girls round the village – anyone the village council is glad to get rid of. The new settlement then becomes a slum as surely as night follows day. In Malaya the Authority's principle has been to settle the best farmers available on the best land available, to create the maximum wealth for them and for the nation. That principle has not always been sufficiently followed. But the methods of selection now accepted, awarding points for a standard list of qualities, are doing much to eliminate the mistakes.

The next principle is that settlers are farmers, not guinea-pigs. They are there to grow proven crops for their own benefit, not to be an experimental station for well-intentioned scientists. Above all success depends on confidence, and confidence of the farmer in his crop is essential. There are enough difficulties and unknowns in the human side of settlement without also introducing agricultural uncertainties.

The last basic principle concerns management. The livelihoods of many people are at stake, as is the future prosperity of the country. It is therefore a mistake to spoil the ship for a ha'porth of management. Effective and economic management involves concentration of effort, and it means large projects. That is not everywhere possible, but on the whole it has been possible in Malaya. The standard land development project in Malaya is of about 4,000 acres, for 400 families; each has a scheme manager, and under him an assistant supervisor for each 30 families. On the whole the crops grown are permanent tree crops, and mistakes in the early years can affect revenue for the next thirty years. The difference of future yield between, for instance, rubber well planted and maintained for five years and rubber badly planted and neglected will pay for good management many times over. Management has probably been the Authority's greatest bottleneck; a combination of technical knowledge with power of leadership has been necessary. And it has been felt that managers should be men of the same country, and preferably of the same race as the settlers; the expatriate may drive a scheme to success, but only the local men can lead a new community with understanding to the point where, after some years, management can be withdrawn and the institutions established will continue to run on their own horsepower. In Malaya, as elsewhere, success or failure (and there are schemes which are not successful) can usually be traced to failure of management. And it has been this bottleneck of management that has made necessary the very obvious standardization of the Malayan schemes; managers and settlers have had to be trained to the simple task of copying the early successful pilot schemes, with minimum alteration, to make

good the lessons learnt. Refinements, such as the introduction of specialist farmers rearing livestock, or developing fishponds, or market gardening, or growing orchids, though desirable, have had to wait until the overwhelming backlog of people wanting land has been cleared, and until managers are sufficiently trained and numerous to allow of greater variety and sophistication.

A typical project

A land development project begins with the selection of an area of land, preferably of not less than 4,000 acres and not too far from an existing road. The Survey Department produces maps on which the soil survey team of the Department of Agriculture marks the soil types. If there is a difficulty over drainage, or any question of irrigation for rice, the Drainage and Irrigation Department is called on for advice. The State Government and the Ministry of Rural Development then decide, in consultation with the Federal Land Development Authority, whether to go ahead with the project. If the answer is favourable, the land is handed over to the Land Development Authority for detailed planning; and the other government departments involved are warned of their part – access road, school, water-supply and so on, with the dates by which each is required.

A standard project will aim to take in about 400 farming families at full development, each with ten to twelve acres of land, with perhaps another 50 families for the village services – shops, school-teachers and so on. This was calculated to be the optimum size of village community. It is big enough to afford high-calibre management without the cost being too great a burden. It is not so big that the manager is out of touch with his people. If the area is reasonably compact, not broken up by hills or swamps, every part of the land is within reasonable bicycling or walking distance of the centre – say 1½ miles. With an average-aged population there are enough children for full primary school classes at all standards.

At the start there was much discussion on the pros and cons of compact villages, as against each farmer living amongst his crops. The decision, on a narrow balance and for reasons not everywhere relevant, was in favour of compact villages. The village area is planned by the Town Planning Department, with room for playing field, processing factory, school, clinic and other amenities. Each family is allotted a plot, usually one quarter of an acre (there is still discussion on the best size), for the house, growing vegetables and keeping chickens. Briefly, the main argument for compact villages lies in the more convenient and stimulating community life made possible; piped water (and later electricity) can be more economically laid on; children have not far to go to school; evening gatherings for education or entertainment are easier to arrange. The main argument in favour of dispersed living is that a farmer and his wife will be better farmers if they live among their crops and livestock; more self-reliant, less dependent on government services, more likely to be conscientious if there is no distraction and the family can do odd jobs outside the back door. In Malaya the first deciding argument was that the main cash crops grown do not involve farming at all in the usual sense. Rubber and oil-palms are plantation crops worked by a factory-type routine of daily work, little dependent on weather or seasons. A plantation worker travels to his plantation just as a factory worker travels to his factory. There is no more need for the one to live among his trees than for the other to live above the factory. The second argument, natural at a time when the jungle war was still being fought, was that

concentrated populations would be more easily protected from any future effort to terrorize the country from the jungles.

The project layout allows therefore for a central village of about 300 acres. If rubber is to be the main crop, each family will be allotted from six to eight acres of land for rubber, and from two to four acres for food crops of various sorts. If irrigable rice land is available, each family may have two acres for rice and two acres for fruit. More often a total agricultural holding of ten acres will be allotted, seven or eight acres for rubber and two or three for crops such as rambutans, durians, citrus, bananas, coffee and coconuts. All the rubber plots will be grouped together in one or two blocks, and the fruit plots similarly, depending on the soil types and lie of the land. Such an arrangement also makes easier the road layout and collection of rubber latex for central processing and marketing.

Thus each family has three separate plots of land; one in the village for his house and vegetables, one for rubber or oilpalms or other main cash crop (of which the planting is obligatory), and one for a variety of mainly fruit crops, in which the farmer has a degree of personal choice provided he only plants approved high-yielding stock. The land remains crown land until completion of development; the farmer will then receive a 99-year leasehold title, subject to payment of land premium and annual quit-rent, and subject to conditions of good husbandry. All three plots of land are tied together under one title, and may not be disposed of separately or subdivided through sale or inheritance. The farmer is however free to sell his holding as one unit, subject to any remaining debt.

On completion of layout planning, probably involving development in four annual phases of 1,000 acres each, a contract is let for the felling and clearing of the 300-acre village site. House lots are then demarcated, house-building materials ordered, a long hut is built as a transit camp, and the men of the first 100 selected families move in with the scheme manager. Each family is provided as a loan with tools and house-building materials worth about £100, and while they are building their house, the first 1,000 acres of agricultural land are being felled and cleared also by contract. The area allotted for rubber is also (a new decision) planted by contract, while the farmers plant up their house lots and fruit lots. From then on the farmers are responsible for all maintenance. Farmers' families join them as soon as the houses are built; the school is opened at the same time, often using the transit hut for this purpose temporarily.

On few of the schemes is it possible to grow rice, the farmers' staple food. Rubber will produce no income for six years, and there will be little income from the fruit for two or three years. It is therefore necessary to pay on loan a subsistence allowance for two years, and sometimes longer, at a rate of about £8 a month with a small increase for large families. This is not paid in cash, but is a credit at the scheme's co-operative shop.

If all goes well in the first year, the same procedure follows in each of the next three years, bringing in 100 families a year, until the whole area is settled and planted by the end of the fourth year. From the start a committee of representative farmers discusses difficulties and main decisions with the scheme manager; these committees will in due course become village councils.

The whole of the administration, both central and on the scheme, is paid from Federal Government grant. Roads, water supplies, education and other services are supplied under the same financial arrangements as in any other rural area. But the cost of all direct development is charged to the farmer's

individual loan account, with interest accruing annually; such costs include the cost of tools, housing materials, planting materials, manures, land clearing and planting, initial subsistence allowances and so on. Conditions between schemes vary, but as a rough indication an industrious farmer who has been fortunate in the scheme management should end up with a developed holding planted with tree crops worth about £2,000, an annual cash income of about £500 (in addition to food produced for his own consumption), against a debt of £1,000–£1,200. As the first scheme was only started in 1957, none is yet in a position to sell anything from the main cash crop, and proof of success is still some way off. Some schemes have a high standard and, a few laggards apart, should produce the above results; the average is probably rather lower, some need to pull their socks up.

The Federal Land Development Authority draws its funds mainly from the Federal Government, but has also received a loan of £600,000 from Malaya Developments Ltd., the Malayan operating company of the Colonial Development Corporation. CDC is also helping with the first pilot oilpalm scheme, which for that reason is near CDC's Kulai Oilpalm Estate in Johore. The CDC estate has grown the nurseries, and is training twelve supervisory staff in oilpalm planting; the CDC manager visits the scheme regularly to give advice; and the oilpalm fruit will be processed in the CDC estate factory, the smallholding producers owning the factory jointly with CDC as shareholders in the separate factory company in proportion to planted acreage.

Ministry of Rural Development

One of the Authority's greatest difficulties at the start was the integration of its work with that of the country's general development effort. Nothing could be achieved in isolation. Provision of land depended on the goodwill of state governments. Surveys of lots, taking of levels, soil mapping, access roads, water supplies, schools, planting material – all these and more depended on the goodwill and co-operation of different ministries and departments, often at both federal and state level. Goodwill was not lacking; but the jungle war was still on; departments were overstrained and under-staffed, all with too much to do and their own programmes to fulfil. Even if, for instance, the education ministry was in a position to supply school and teachers, the problem of getting everything for a scheme into the right year's departmental estimates was an almost impossible one. The country lacked a co-ordinating body to decide priorities and to overstep departmental boundaries.

To fill this gap the Government after independence set up a small but high-powered Ministry of Rural Development. Here, under Tun Abdul Razak, the energetic and able Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Rural Development, co-ordination is effectively accomplished. The Ministry now does the initial planning and conducts land negotiations with state governments. For a land development project, funds are made available as a vote to the Ministry of Rural Development for all aspects of the development; the Ministry then subcontracts to the education or public works or other department as appropriate. Thus no aspect of a project can get out of step for the reason that any particular department has no funds in the annual estimates.

On completion of planning the project becomes the responsibility of the Land Development Authority for execution, and also becomes subject to the fearsome monthly drill of the Rural Development Operations Room in Kuala Lumpur. At the monthly review of the rural development effort, which includes much

else besides the work of the Land Development Authority, bottlenecks are discussed with departmental heads and as likely as not the Minister will be on the phone immediately to clear the track for smooth operation. This military approach to the urgent problems of rural development, directly deriving from the methods evolved in the jungle war, has caught the country's imagination and is effective. The mixture of high enthusiasm and *timor parentis* has made possible an accelerating development programme, even at a time when the civil service has been in a period of rapid transition under the Malayanization programme and must make up for lack of experience with an exceptional keenness and devotion. Critics may sigh at the sight of some of the rubber on some of the schemes; all admittedly is not perfect. But here is a people, not crying for foreign aid, not waiting on international experts, but putting its own initiative and sweat into solving its own problems. The momentum is now great; the lessons are being well learnt. If Malaya succeeds by these methods in combining the efficiency of highly capitalized plantation agriculture with the social and political stability of personally-owned farms, there is no need to fear for the future either financially or politically.

'Administrative Techniques'

A Suggestion For Administrative Service Training Curricula

by A. H. M. KIRK-GREENE and J. H. SMITH[1]

THE lead given to initial training courses for local would-be administrative officers by the Administrative Service training courses at the Institute of Administration, Northern Nigeria, has been an influential one. Prospective principals have visited the Institute of Administration at Zaria from Kenya, where at the new Institute on the campus of the former Jeanes School at Kabete the first course for Kenyan district officers was opened in July, 1961; from Uganda, where the second administrative officers course is now in session at the Nsamizi Training Centre, and from Tanganyika, where at Mzumbe the Administrative Service training course has been modelled with embarrassing exactitude on our Zaria pattern. In Eastern Nigeria the new entries to the Administration undergo an orientation course, and administrative officers appointed to the Federal Government are all given an induction course in Lagos. Ghana has this year established its Institute of Administration. To cap it all, the 1960 Adu Report on Africanization in Nyasaland recommends the immediate establishment of a school of administration for the training of local candidates to fill posts in the Administrative Service: "The school should be run along the lines of the Administrative Service training course which operates at the Institute of Administration in Zaria, Northern Nigeria . . ."[2] After outlining the structure of this recommended course, Mr. Adu, who is one of Ghana's most distinguished senior civil servants, concludes by saying that the full details of the Administrative Service training course had been given to the Chief Establishment Officer of the Nyasaland Government.

It is not our intention to discuss in this training note the curricular content of these Administrative Service training courses,[3] but simply to draw attention to what appears to have become one of the most successful and renowned innovations in the instructional programme at Zaria and to offer the lessons learnt to other institutions with similar responsibilities in education for administration. We refer to what we have named 'administrative techniques'.

The birth of the 'administrative techniques' course

An analysis of the traditional Devonshire (and later 'A') courses at Oxford, Cambridge and London discloses a curriculum dominated by lectures in empire history, developmental economics, introductory anthropology and land tenure, English criminal law, tropical agriculture, field engineering and English local government. Even the series of lectures headed 'Native Administration' remain, for all their academic excellence, theoretical and discursive. Nowhere, either in the current published syllabuses or in the memories of our notebooks

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[2] *Report of the Localization Committee*, A. L. Adu, Zomba, 1960, para. 187.

[3] This has been done in A. H. M. Kirk-Greene's article, "A Training Course for Northern Nigerian Administrative Officers", *J.A.A.*, Vol. XI, No. 2, 1959. See also his *How Northern Nigeria Trains Its Administrative Officers*, Kaduna, 1960, for a full analysis of the syllabus.

on the courses a decade or so ago, is there any trace of practical, topical, administrative hints. (We exclude, *bien entendu*, the awesome advice from ultra-senior medical officers about bathing in still waters and getting into even hotter ones by way of dangerous liaisons.)

This comment is not necessarily censorious. After all, the Oxbridge courses cater for administrative cadets destined for a dozen of the dependent territories, so that one cadet's meat would be another's poison. The 'A' course perhaps aims at providing a general background rather than imparting specific briefing. And university dons are exculpated, for it would be unreasonable to expect them to be initiates of the H.M.O.C.S. way of doing things. Furthermore, the average British youth accepted for the 'A' course has, in his OTC/JTC/CCF schooldays or, as likely as not since 1946, on active or national service, learned something about military life so that exercises such as how to inspect the native authority police contingent and how to take the salute on Independence Day or the Queen's Birthday parade are by no means as foreign to him as they are to the average African administrative intake. Finally, his educational qualifications, calculated to be at least up to 2nd class honours standard, stand him in good stead when he has to face minor yet basic organizational problems of office procedure or logistics or elections, a mental flexibility which the normal entrant into the courses we are discussing here has had no chance to develop in his previous experience. Of course, some provincial commissioners and residents have long since written off the 'A' course for even their expatriate cadets, complaining that these officers arrive in the station too knowledgeable about Malthusian theory and siblings and woefully ignorant of double entry book-keeping and how to type confidential mail!

We were deeply conscious of this gap in our pre-appointment equipment when confronted by local resources, and at once determined to bridge it when we were invited to design and direct instructional courses for potential administrative cadets in the territory itself. It seemed to us that one of our aims should be to pass on our accumulated administrative experience, for what it was worth, and that the best way of doing this was to admit that we were doing just this. Here, certainly, we had an immediate advantage over the 'A' course, for we were dealing with only one territory. We were not unaware of the obvious danger, namely that we might appear to be turning out replicas of the expatriate district officer of an earlier decade; but we hoped our approach was flexible enough to take into account the changed circumstances of administration. In any case such a tendency towards mis-direction can be better ironed out in the next national phase of administrative training, when the crash-programme urgency has subsided and the Government, by then independent, can look around and shape its administrative policies as it wishes.

The incident method is no novelty in Service life, where the TEWT has been an old favourite, nor in management training where the 'in-basket' or role-playing technique, along with the case-study, has long since proved its success.[4] But back in 1957 it was something of a minor revolution in the training of administrative cadets, without precedent in Devonshire Course syllabuses and without much enthusiasm in upper secretariat circles. But we quoted Sophocles' dictum

[4] See address to the 16th national conference of the British Institute of Management by Mr. A. G. P. Elliott, Director of Standard Telephones and Cables, Ltd., as reported in *The Times Educational Supplement*, October 27th, 1961, p. 565. Other speakers included the Secretary for Technical Co-operation, Mr. Dennis Vosper, and Dr. T. Lupton, head of the Department of Industrial Administration at the Birmingham College of Advanced Technology, who read a paper on "New trends in management training: external courses".

of "you must learn by performing the task, for even when you believe you have learnt you have no certainty before you have tried", reinforced by Aristotle's advice that the best way to learn to play a flute is to play a flute, and went ahead with our 'administrative techniques'.

The Curriculum

Making use of a wealth of assembled data on the imaginary Tanadi[5] Province we have divided the subject into three groups:—

A. The administrative routine of a divisional officer.
B. Office management and secretariat practice.
C. Social *savoir-faire* and 'senior service' etiquette and mores.

Under A, which is concerned not so much with the art of Solomon-like judgements or Delphic *ex-tripode* pronouncements as with skill in handling those innumerable matters which crop up daily in administrative work but which are not dealt with in any text-book or manual, exercises are undertaken in such problems as the planning required in a division when His Excellency or the Premier is on tour; the installation of an emir; the organization of an agricultural show or an anniversary parade; the inspection of a police guard; V.I.P. visits; and such perpetual 'special duties' as the carrying out of a census, election, referendum or assessment survey.

One of the earliest lessons to be put across has been, in our experience, the necessity of knowing your way around, a sort of potted who's who and what's what as well as where's what on the station. A recent example of the kind of self-education we have in mind is to be found in the following questionnaire. This was set to groups of cadets-in-training, who were sent off in cars and given two hours to complete the quiz. As can be seen, this test required *nous* and systematic planning rather than knowledge or training.

1. Who last visited the residency?
2. How many rooms are vacant in the catering rest house today? What will be the availability of accommodation on Christmas Day?
3. What is the length and breadth of the river Galma bridge?
4. How many patients are there in the senior ward of the hospital and what is the name of the nurse on duty?
5. What is the name of the home town of the electricity manager?
6. How many gallons of water were pumped from the waterworks yesterday?
7. Will there be accommodation for five emirs to travel first-class to Lagos tomorrow? If not, how soon can they secure a reservation?
8. How many petrol stations are there between the city market and the police charge office?

Under B, instruction and practice are given in drafting official letters and telegrams; minute-writing; the submission of memoranda; elementary typing so that an officer can type his confidential papers; receiving the public in the office; the logistic aspects of ministerial tours, including the handling of reservations by air and rail and the booking of hotel accommodation (both air travel and hotel life are often new to the students, so much fun is had by all in the initial itineraries produced!); drawing up tours for V.I.P.s from abroad in the provinces or in the capital; compiling press releases; and the study of government regulations and financial instructions, including the classified checks on native treasuries.

[5] Hausa vernacular term: 'imaginative foresight'.

Here a point must be made. Given the rapidly expanded localized Civil Service of the country, the new administrative recruit finds himself both at a disadvantage *vis-à-vis* the senior clerk and executive officer who, having worked in a government office for half his life, knows everything about how it operates though perhaps not so much about how it *ought* to function; and, on the other hand, at an advantage, slight yet demanding a tutorial attitude on his part, *vis-à-vis* the very raw and rather young clerical intake whose emergency training has left him somewhat bewildered. In both cases it is clearly essential for the new administrative officer, lacking the university status of his expatriate predecessor and its concomitant *débrouillard* know-how, to know what is what in office procedure, both to establish confidence in his newly-won rank in the eyes of his subordinates and to be in a position to guide and encourage the new clerical intake that is still feeling its way round the filing and correspondence system. Furthermore, newly elected ministers are likely to look to their assistant secretaries and depend on their support more closely than in the normal relationship between established civil servants and experienced parliamentarians. In more than one territory, these common phenomena have been exacerbated by parochial overtones of particularism.

It is never too soon to introduce the student to normal work conditions. Conventional teaching methods will put over the knowledge required but seldom the means of its application. We therefore start practical exercises at an early stage in the course, making them more difficult as the term goes by. Each student has a file in which he works. For example, a letter criticising some aspect of government policy may appear in the local press. The student is told that he is now an assistant secretary in the Ministry of Information whose job it is to read the newspapers and take appropriate action on matters which seem to call for an official statement. His 'answer' will be a draft reply to the critical letter, accompanied by a minute put up to the chief information officer . . . all on the right kind of paper, pages and paragraphs properly numbered, minutes initialled, etc. When these exercises are marked, the tutor amends the draft as though he were the senior officer to whom it has been submitted, and minutes back the next action required. Elementary as this may sound, it is surprising how long it takes students with no previous office experience to master government ways. In particular, we discourage the 'post-office' idiom of 'above submitted, please' and 'f.y.i. and nec. action, pl.', a type of minute that is, alas, all too common in government files. By the end of the course students are familiar with the handling of files, drafts, minutes and even written rockets, so that the new administrative officer starts his first tour at ease with the office methods in common use and with a more deliberate grounding than we ever received in our salad days.

Similar role-playing techniques are used orally. We teach students how to use the telephone correctly and we show a British Treasury training film on the subject. We go further, making students practise telephone conversations with one another on a given piece of information to be passed on, taping the conversations on a tape-recorder and then playing them back. We assume the role of a permanent secretary ringing up for a mass of information, which he interlards with social sweet-nothings and other irrelevancies. We also use tapes of irate or difficult senior officers bellowing complicated messages over a bad line and see how much information is recorded accurately. Again, simple stuff but provenly worthwhile.

Under C, tuition is given in some of the more difficult and novel elements of the new cultural atmosphere in which many of the students are moving for the first time. They attend such functions as school sports days, agricultural shows, polo matches, plays, and military parades, where they observe the social traditions as well as the organizational techniques. Careful attention is given to the formal side of an administrative officer's responsibilities (which so far shows no sign of decreasing), such as official entertaining, as well as to the private side of his public life such as the maintenance of a novel (to him) government quarter and to the semi-official hospitality still expected from him in his position as an agent of Government. There is much to be learnt about the wearing of ceremonial uniform,[6] visitors' books, official receptions, and so on, all of which is quite new to the typical student and is, if anything, more frequent now than it was in the remoter days of district work a generation ago.

New practical exercises

Aware of the fact that the contents of such a key course must change with the changing needs of administration and be alert to the constant call for adjustment, we have sought to make continuing improvements to our administrative technique exercises.

The first development was the extension of our administrative techniques to practical experience in the field (literally) instead of solely in the planning office. Here we should mention, in parenthesis, that a six week attachment, as a student, to a selected divisional officer has always been and remains one of the core-items of our syllabus; the administrative techniques have been separate from and additional to that item of the course content. For course number 3, 'Operation Alkali'[7] took teams of students out on a two-day inspection of native courts, rounded off with the submission of detailed, individual reports on their visit to the Regional Commissioner of Native Courts. 'Operation Ballot Box' took the form of two weeks out in an outlying province, working as a self-contained unit responsible for an entire constituency during the federal election and manning the posts of registration, polling and returning officers.

'Operation Hadejia'[8] saw course number 4 out in the bush for a whole month. After a preliminary stand-by warning, the course was moved to the Hadejia Division, 200 miles away, at 24 hours notice. This again was in connexion with electoral duties, a truly invaluable training ground for the young administrative cadet. The students ran the entire organization for two constituencies, and trained electoral staff and prepared the stores for a third. The fifth and current course will have similar practical experience when they take part in the national census this year. On such training projects, we have found that the students develop an *esprit de corps* that can never be nurtured in the classroom. They not only tackle the job given to them at every level but also learn how to live off their camp-kit and make themselves comfortable and competent in the bush. Many learn to ride a horse (two cadets were last seen mounting a camel for the distant polling station, though both came from high-forest and tsetse-infested home areas) and others to handle a gun for the first time. The profitable and enjoyable use of leisure time when on trek is something that the local adminis-

[6] A handbook on ceremonial, including photographs of how to wear uniform, has been compiled for new administrative officers by J. H. Smith.

[7] Moslem court judge.

[8] Town in Northern Nigeria.

trative officer is slow to learn. Indeed, it is something that is perhaps peculiarly attractive to the expatriate, for after all, which of us would find much to thrill in a posting as A.D.O. East Essex or D.O. Tyneside? For the expatriate, much of the allure in an H.M.O.C.S. career has been the novelty of 'wide open spaces,' an element totally lacking when the officer is serving in his own country and missing the very amenities of life that he has always sought and never found in his own rural area. But this is another story.[9]

As well as the major expeditions, there have been 'long-weekend' ones . . . though not in the conventional leisure sense! 'Operation Zazzau' (the historical name for the Zaria emirate) hit the headlines[10] with its imaginative scheme of sending the cadets out, in pairs, to spend five days in various remote villages in the division, engaged in research into the economic, agricultural and human make-up of the area. It is now to be followed by 'Operation Hilltops', a self-explanatory title. We like to think that the exhaustive questionnaire, based on the good old-fashioned administrative assessment reports of yesteryear and completed with exemplary enthusiasm and no mean skill, will be of some help to those who plan the policy of the emirate which so generously played host to us.

Shorter, day-tour administrative techniques are another feature. The course goes off, in tutorial groups, for visits to district headquarters in the local emirate. A routine inspection is carried out by the group under the surveillant direction of the tutor. Besides inspecting the sundry tax records and district council books, a visit is made to the native court, the school, the dispensary and to anything else that the district offers – perhaps a cotton market, a well-sinking programme, road works or an anti-erosion project. In the same way each group takes part in the weekly prison inspection back in the emirate capital.

What follows is vital, namely the evaluation session that concludes these administrative technique expeditions. Doubts are cleared up, policies redefined, methods examined and improvements noted. And when the group has been officially 'shown round' an institution like a cigarette factory or a primary school, they subsequently evaluate not only the institution but also the way in which they were conducted round. In this way as the course goes on the students gain experience in the best technique of being a guide to visitors, a call frequently made on the young administrative officer.

To give the students organizational experience, there are diverse common-room offices to which they are elected each term. In addition, a duty officer is appointed every week. He has certain responsibilities concerning mail, transport arrangements, afternoon excursions and for arranging and presiding over the weekly 'club-evening'. The last-named consists of a brains trust, table-tennis competition, a debate or a talk by some outside lecturer. The duty officer looks after all the details and the staff do not intervene . . . till the next day! This has been a very valuable innovation and a strong element of competitiveness has arisen. Many lessons have been learnt the hard way, as for example on the occasion when the duty officer arranged a most interesting visit, organized the transport, a meeting-place and time of departure; then sent off the convoy, himself in the last car, without telling the leading vehicle where to go!

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9 It is ably hinted at in R. E. Wraith's article "Government without Glamour", *West Africa*, March 22nd, 1958.

10 Articles appeared in *Daily Times* (Lagos) and *Commonwealth Today*, as well as in *Features of the North*, Ministry of Information, Kaduna.

The examination

The latest refinement in our administrative techniques has been a full-scale examination in this very sphere. This was held in two parts. The first was conventional enough, a paper designed to test knowledge of routine administrative procedures and know-how, logical thinking and balanced judgement. Based on actual occurrences over the years, they covered the whole gamut of the outstation administrative officer's worries. Specimen questions from this part of the administrative techniques examination are given as an appendix to this article.

The second part of the examination was quite novel. Each student was given, not a question paper but an 'in-tray' of files. Available in the room were sufficient copies of the various government gazettes, memoranda, laws and instruction files required for dealing with the problems. Each file involved a change of 'role', so that at one moment the student was a ministry official, next a provincial one and then a divisional one. A thread of continuity was provided by the use of the same imaginary Tanadi Province in each question. We have always felt that one of the difficulties of the administrative officer is that he is expected to talk intelligently on a dozen departmental subjects within as many minutes, switching from finance to public drainage and on to trypanosomiasis or antiquities with each successive caller.

A fair amount of research was required in some cases, such as the drafting of replies to parliamentary questions where the facts were buried in a series of annual reports. Drafts on establishment matters came up in some files. Another was a request from the resident for information to be summarized in a simple schedule. A précis, for presentation to the native authority council, was needed from the draft Births and Deaths legislation. Another file was concerned with the affairs of an *ad hoc* committee set up to make arrangements for the opening of a provincial girl's school by a minister. Here the student was the secretary to the committee. The file showed that a meeting was to be held on the very day of the examination, at a time within the examination hours. When this time came, a tape recorder was switched on and a twenty-minute 'meeting' was played back. All the conversation was free and not infrequently members strayed from the agenda; one rehearsal by the Course Supervisor was enough to produce ample "umming" and "er-ing", complete with giggles from the headmistress. The students had to put up draft minutes of points raised and motions passed, for the approval of the chairman of the meeting.

In both parts of this administrative techniques examination we wanted students to relax and enjoy (?) themselves. In this way they were likely to perform well, despite the novelty. By introducing amusing situations and standard 'joke' characters of the course, and trying as far as possible to simulate actual working conditions, we succeeded. The most difficult factor from our point of view was to assess the amount of time required. An element of pressure is essential, but we found that the usual examination period of three hours was not enough; longer should have been allowed, with 'natural' pauses for refreshment and urgent calls thrown in to increase the verisimilitude.

'Executive techniques'

One last point. When the training of the executive grade of the Civil Service was added to our responsibilities, we developed 'executive techniques.' These we have conducted in three groups. One has been the established tools of government middle management, aimed at teaching the student how to find his way

about the volumes of government regulations such as General Orders and Financial Instructions, and the lengthy series of establishment and Public Service Commission papers and directives involving staff matters like appointment, confirmation, promotion, increments, leave, passages, transfer and retirement. The second group has specialized in instruction on such vital but uncharted lessons as how to control a transport pool, the secretaryship of government committees, the preparation of ephemeral lists and recurrent directories, the use of the telephone and the art of phrasing telegrams. In these, elementary as they may sound to the outsider, we have found through repeated and sometimes bitter experience a vast need for guidance and instruction. The final group has concentrated on English in the office. This covered not only minute-writing and the preparation of memoranda, but also sought to improve the students' comprehension and expression of English, not by formal 'English' text-books but by using ministry circulars and official publications (not always as models, but often as pit-falls to be avoided!) for exercises of précis, comprehension and vocabulary.

Conclusion

To our way of thinking, instruction in 'administrative techniques' can only be given by those who, drawing on their own experience of actually working in the particular local government service and context, are prepared to pass on unashamedly their accumulated, if distilled, experience. Found in no reference or text-book, such knowledge is often the saving grace of the administrative officer in the field and the assistant secretary in a ministry. To pass it on to him and his fellow students, we have had recourse to 'administrative techniques.' The results from five Administrative Service training courses have convinced us that the idea is worth sharing with parallel training courses in other emergent territories.

APPENDIX

SPECIMEN QUESTIONS FROM THE ADMINISTRATIVE TECHNIQUES EXAMINATION

1. Write short notes on the following:–
   (*a*) The B.U. system.
   (*b*) Special remittances and the daily vote abstract.
   (*c*) Special List 'A'.
   (*d*) Bouncing cheques.
   (*e*) Parts A and C of the Gazette Supplement.
2. Reply to the two invitations attached to this question paper. Use notepaper for your replies and address the envelopes. [One was formal, from Government House; the other informal, from Mrs. Resident.]
3. (*a*) You are driving along a road and you see a sign like that attached to the question paper. Do you expect to drive up a hill or down? Give reasons for your answer.
   (*b*) A man has 12 Pirate, 9 Bicycle and 6 Galleon cigarettes mixed together in a box. How many must he take out to make sure of having (i) three of any kind, and (ii) three of each kind?

4. How would you conduct a weekly routine prison inspection?

5. Your Resident calls you in to Provincial H.Q. to discuss an official visit by the Hon. Premier to your division to open the new central office. Make a list of the points you will wish to discuss.

6. You are appointed secretary to the Provincial Leprosy Committee. What arrangements will you make for the annual meeting?

7. You are a D.O. in charge of a division. How would you deal with the following situations:–

   (*a*) On your arrival the Emir sends you a turkey, the Waziri some eggs and the Ma'aji six guinea fowl and a case of coco-cola (these are typical titles of emirate senior N.A. councillors).

   (*b*) When you inspect the prison you see among the prisoners an old classmate of yours with whom you were very friendly before he left school to join the native authority. When you get home for breakfast you find him in the gang cutting your grass.

   (*c*) The Emir complains to you that your A.D.O., who is a Christian, has been seen drunk in the Moonshine Hotel.

   (*d*) You discover by chance that a native authority councillor, who is also an M.P., has no driving licence. He usually drives his own car around the town.

   (*e*) During a fierce election campaign you advise the native authority to restrict party meetings in the town to one a day and that on a site stipulated by the native authority. You do this in the interests of law and order as the native authority police force is small and has already failed to deal with disorders arising from political meetings. The native authority refuses to take your advice.

   (*f*) An expatriate wife comes to you in distress and tells you that her husband, a road engineer, is having an affair with a teacher at the women's training centre.

   (*g*) At the local education committee, of which you are chairman, the representatives of Mission X and Mission Y refuse to speak to one another. Both have applied to open a senior primary school in the same village.

   (*h*) While carrying out a cash survey on the sub-treasury you notice by chance the mileage claim voucher of the medical officer. It shows over 500 loaded miles for the month. You know that whenever he tours he uses a ministry kitcar.

Local Government Elections in Ngara, Tanganyika

A STUDY IN THE PROCESS OF SOCIAL CHANGE

by R. E. S. TANNER [1]

IN 1960 the unofficial members of all the councils in the Ngara district were elected for the first time by secret ballot under a universal adult franchise. The purpose of this article is to examine the successful adaptation of an evolving feudal-type society to the necessities of survival in the nineteen-sixties, and to see how the same social class which had held power previously, gained control of the councils within the framework of the only political party, the Tanganyika African National Union, hereafter referred to as TANU. Also to study the failure of the clique controlling locally this political party, which had already an overwhelming majority in the Legislative Council, to organize itself within the local society so that it could get the support of local voters.

Ngara District

Ngara district, in the West Lake Province of Tanganyika, is situated in the extreme west of the territory where it is both ecologically and socially a part of the Ruanda-Urundi mountain block. The area was administered first by Germany and then by the Belgians until the early twenties, since when it has been incorporated in Tanganyika.

The district, with a population of over 100,000, is divided between the chiefdoms of Bugufi and Bushubi. The former contains the Ngara ridge at about 5,500 ft., and is densely populated by the Hangaza tribe whose monetary economy is ostensibly based on Arabica coffee within a stable form of society and land tenure. The latter contains the Shubi tribe at a lower altitude with few areas of dense population. Coffee and tobacco have not been developed there because of frequent household movement, caused by the unfavourable environment. Both the chiefdoms have essentially the same social structure and language.

The economy of the district is based on the yearly migration to Uganda of large numbers of men and the money with which they return, rather than on their coffee crops which fluctuate heavily. The number of growers and their incomes would have to double before coffee could challenge the Uganda migration as a source of capital and income.

Both the Hangaza and Shubi tribes are divided between the Tutsi (Hamitic) ruling class comprising about 5 per cent. of the population and the Hutu (Bantu) who are thought to have been the indigenous people of the area. The Tutsi are not an endogamous group as in nearby Ruanda, and because of inter-marriage with the Hutu, are not physically distinguishable. Neither land, cattle not official positions are exclusively in their hands as over half of the latter are held by Hutu. The Tutsi control the life of the district through a combination of land holding, social patronage and Hutu ambition, and they show a superior talent for politics.

Although a certain amount of anti-Tutsi sentiment was endemic in the district and had been increased by the 1959 Ruanda civil war, the fact that they had

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no stranglehold over land and cattle allowed the elections to be fought in a conservative atmosphere since the obvious rallying cry of Tutsi domination no longer applied.

The landlord, either Tutsi or Hutu, was a member of an aristocracy whose privilege and prestige were deeply engrained in Hangaza psychology. The landlord and his tenants form one social unit and he acts as their leader, arbitrator and friend, interceding for them with the authorities and helping them in their troubles. In return he receives their respect, obedience and a voluntary share in their harvests and feasts.

The main feature of administration in the district is that changes had been made by the central Government before they were forced into the action required by a popular movement. This has kept the political temperature low and has allowed the consequences of each change to be absorbed without the growth of bitterness in any particular section of the community.

The Bugufi chiefdom of Ngara with its high population density, unusual land tenure and feudal social system had always attracted government's attention and its administration became unusually detailed. The feudal privileges of the Tutsi have been reduced or abolished, their exclusiveness mitigated by intermarriage, the people taught to vote and to take part in councils and their land rights established and recorded.

The franchise and the method of voting

The franchise for this election gave the vote to any African over eighteen years of age born in the district, or who had lived in it for three years, or who was living elsewhere but had locally-born parents. A male voter had to have paid the previous year's tax in the district.

The election rules stated that a central government representative must be present at the election in each constituency. Election committees consisting of two unofficials and the chief of each chiefdom were constituted to deal with any matters of dispute either as to candidature or in the actual carrying out of the election procedure, as well as to administer the actual elections.

Candidates for election had to be over 25 years of age and literate and to have lived within the district for the previous five years; they could stand for election in any constituency in which they had paid their local tax. Two members could be elected for each parish constituency with provision for a further member if the population of the parish exceeded five hundred taxpayers. These members sat in the sub-chiefdom council which elected some of their number to constitute the chiefdom council. Similarly the chiefdom council elected the members of the district council from its own membership.

The membership of each council allowed for an unofficial majority for the first time. Neither employees of the central Government or of the local authority could stand, nor could persons who had been imprisoned for longer than six months for offences involving theft or violence. Only six candidates could stand in any constituency and each had to present himself beforehand to the sub-chief of the area containing the constituency with twenty sponsors who were entitled to vote in it.

At each election the candidates were called out by a member of the election committee and their qualifications were publicly checked. Each candidate then chose one of six colours provided, put on a broad sash in his colour and held a ballot box similarly painted. The candidates showed their boxes to the crowd, closed them and put them in a line behind a house. The electors then filed past,

each collecting a voting card from a committee member and dropping it into the box to denote the candidate of his choice. Each person completed his voting before another was allowed to go forward. After the voting was over the boxes were opened by the election committee and the votes publicly counted. The results were then announced by the chief.

The previous election had been held on the same franchise but without detailed supervision and with the electors lining up behind the candidates of their choice. Many would always vote for the candidate behind whom the headman stood in view of his importance in the social system, even if he did not hold strong views himself. The new rules were instituted without any initiative from the electorate or their currently elected representatives who did not have any unofficial majority.

The election issues

In considering the issues in the election it is essential to realize its intensely personal nature. A political issue could never be considered solely as a question of principle, but largely as a question of the degree of personal and family involvement.

We have already mentioned that TANU was controlled locally by a clique without popular support although this was not apparent until after the election. Although this clique controlled the party committee in the absence of any elections other than a self-perpetuating process of re-election held by the committee amongst themselves, almost every socially important person had joined the party. As membership card holders they could stand for election without being accused of opposition. There is little doubt that the members of this clique were often people who had lost positions of authority because they had not carried out their duties properly and felt aggrieved, and consequently struck at the social system, and the chief as its head, which they considered to have treated them unfairly. They offered no alternative system and the proposals initiated from their local party office were often issued under the mistaken idea that they were TANU national policies.

It was against this background and that already described in the introduction that the politicians controlling the district branch of TANU chose in effect to fight this election on the platform of the Tutsi domination of the district and on nothing else. The electorate on the other hand, while fully subscribing to the national aims of the party and their present policies for administering their country, were very disinclined to accept the political aims of a local group of politicians, since they had no sense of grievance against the social system of which they were a part.

The issue of the election to the vast majority of the electorate was to get acceptable parish personalities of their own religion elected to the councils. In the previous elections greater attention had been paid to lineage connections and to Protestant affiliation. In the former because of the ease with which influence could be exercised when queuing behind candidates, and in the latter because of the Protestant system of decentralization to parishes under pastors of limited education. In this election the Roman Catholics appeared to make a great effort to get council representation in proportion to their numbers, which they had neglected to do in the past. The fact that in this election the Roman Catholics came into prominence seemed to suggest that the religious affiliation had priority over any but the closest kinship connections.

How the election went

The local political clique referred to above was consulted on the draft constitution six months before the election took place, but they failed to put up any party nominated candidates. In some constituencies they stood as individuals and in one constituency, because no candidate was standing on their nomination, they abstained from voting although they attended the election. Where they did stand there was always the implication, often openly expressed, that party members who did not vote for them were not being true to the party and its policies.

The requirements of sponsors before a candidate could be nominated was laid down in order to ensure that the number of candidates would be kept within reasonable proportions, and that the candidates would have a minimal amount of local support before they considered standing. The expense of running the election did not justify open candidature, but the need for sponsors did prevent several members of the group controlling TANU from standing. On the other hand, it certainly forced the candidates to canvass their constituencies in advance, and no popular candidate was prevented from standing.

In one constituency the standing member failed to get sponsors; in another a prospective candidate was compelled to recruit sponsors from women voters because of his unpopularity with men. The party chairman whose unpopularity with his lineage was balanced by his assumed political power and affluence, was reduced to transporting by bus his otherwise unwilling sponsors to and from the sub-chief's court.

Possibly a more inequitable provision was that preventing anyone from standing who had a criminal conviction for a crime of violence or dishonesty and who had been imprisoned for longer than six months. It prevented three members of the group controlling the party from standing at a time which was vital to their future. This provision was removed in the amended constitution.

Only one candidate was known to have made anything in the nature of an electoral promise that if he should be elected, he would ensure that all roads were improved. He was not elected.

As we have noted, the colours for each candidate were chosen at the actual place and time of election. Several candidates had announced in advance that they would have a particular colour and when the election came they were quick to follow up their selections. Red was popular, but black was often left to the last. It seems that there were no sociological or political reasons for these choices, particularly since green was the colour principally used by TANU, but that they were selected for their recognizability, red being thought to be widely known to illiterates.

It is difficult to estimate the campaigns that each candidate waged to ensure his own election. The priests and catechists did little in advance, but it is safe to assume that their flocks voted for them *en bloc*. A Protestant church elder mobilized the girls' catechism class and marched them to the election as a body, thus ensuring that he headed the poll by a substantial majority.

The treasurer of the political party who had lost his seat at the previous election, allegedly because of a long standing quarrel with the chief with whom at one time he was thought to have been in a blood-brother relationship, gathered his lineage members at his house and then walked together with them to the election.

A Haya contractor who, although he had lived in his constituency for some years, would have been voted down just because he was not a Hangaza,

formed an alliance with his headman, whose wife successfully mobilized the women of the parish on his behalf.

In discussing the election itself it would be as well to state at once that there was no evidence of corrupt practices by either the successful or the defeated candidates. The only act seen which was contrary to the election rules was a bystander in one constituency telling the queue of voters to elect a certain candidate.

In another constituency where the councillors were elected unopposed, an opposition group which had been too late to put up its candidate with proper credentials, accused the sub-chief of falsifying the names of the sponsors for one candidate. The case came to court and the man who made the accusation was fined for criminal libel and did not appeal. This was symptomatic of a long-standing feud in the parish and was not specifically related to the election.

In considering the actual voting, it is easy to assume that because a few women and old men failed to vote properly even after the election committee had instructed them, an electorate with a high degree of illiteracy could not vote according to their choice. A few of these who were obviously defeated by the procedure were returned to the queue for reinstruction. Nevertheless the electorate voted quickly at an overall speed of about 150 voters to the hour; this average would have been higher but for the slow and deliberate voting of women who would not be hurried. It is estimated that in Bushubi chiefdom not more than a very small number misvoted through ignorance and that in Bugufi chiefdom the proportion was less.

The women, particularly in Bushubi chiefdom, were often in the majority, and although it was obvious that they knew for whom they had come to vote, they were often disinterested in the actual results and went home before the votes had been counted.

The election committee ensured the secrecy of the actual voting, preventing a voter from going forward until his predecessor had completed voting. They also lectured the queue of voters on the procedure, disallowed from voting persons under age and those who were not entitled to vote in that constituency and counted the votes in an ostentatious manner. Their main function was to settle disputes occurring during the election. This was especially valuable as there had always been the implication in previous elections that as the central Government and the chief controlled local government and administered these elections, their results were biased.

In this election an administrative officer attended each election as an observer but took no part in the proceedings while the chief, who was a member of the election committee, was outvoted by its unofficial members. The committee disallowed an illiterate and a man imprisoned for arson from standing, and when eight candidates wished to stand for the six nominations allowed by the regulations, the committee decided to take the first six who applied in chronological order. Candidates who had not complied with the voting rules and who brought their sponsors to the election hoping to be permitted to stand were also disallowed.

In another constituency the candidates were not opposed, but the electorate protested loudly that one of them was in no way chosen by or agreeable to them. The committee affirmed, however, that he had been correctly elected according to the regulations. This was particularly interesting as the ruling was in favour of a member of the clique controlling TANU who had always claimed that the construction and administration of the rules operated against them.

In Bugufi chiefdom, out of a population of some fifty-five thousand, 6,247 votes were recorded for contested elections, while in Bushubi, with a population of about forty-five thousand, 4,377 votes were cast. Thus, in the district some 25 per cent. of the estimated electorate voted in the contested constituencies, which showed the interest taken in the election. Probably the higher the population density the greater the percentage of voters exercising their votes. Higher concentration gave to Bugufi life a higher political flavour than Bushubi.

Some influences on voters and the outcome

Only the White Fathers and the Church Missionary Society have stations in the district, while Islam has only made headway in two small communities. The Roman Catholics and the Protestants are about equal in numbers in Bugufi chiefdom, but in Bushubi the former comprise about nine-tenths of baptized Christians.

In both chiefdoms Roman Catholic candidates had a higher chance of success (70 per cent.) than the Protestants (45 per cent.). There was no evidence that the Roman Catholics as a church promoted specific candidates, but it was obvious from the voting that the majority of Christians considered that it was their duty to vote for their denomination.

In both chiefdoms, the candidates with education above Standard VII stood the highest chance of success (80 per cent.) and the least literate (Standard IV or less education) the lowest chance (55 per cent.). The older the candidate, the greater were his chances of success; of candidates under 25 years of age, 55 per cent. were successful; between that age and 40, 60 per cent., and of those over 40, 85 per cent. were successful, while comprising 17 per cent. of the council membership.

The successful candidates were mostly cultivators. Four ordained priests (three Protestants and one Roman Catholic) stood and were successful, as well as three professional politicians representing the TANU radical wing, which at the time was controlling the party. A prominent politician was defeated because his own clan had been feeling for some time that he was both presumptuous and unheeding of their advice. Catechists standing as candidates were also noticeably successful (65 per cent.), as well as schoolmasters (77 per cent.). Five out of six bus conductors standing gained seats.

The elected members belonging to the once-ruling Ganwa and Tutsi comprised 17 per cent. of the total elected although they represented only 5 per cent. of the population. The Ganwa who comprise the lineage of the chiefs were almost totally successful but the Tutsi were less so (55 per cent.), although they still won a higher proportion than their overall numbers would justify.

The sons of headmen who had had land allocation powers with accruing financial benefits were 80 per cent. successful and held 14 per cent. of the council membership. Landowners whose forefathers had obtained their land from the chief on the *ntole* system of block grants of land which often contained tenant farmers already in occupation and which put the recipients into a feudal relationship with the chief and these tenants, were 70 per cent. successful and held 54 per cent. of the council membership. Landowners with tenants under this *ntole* system of tenure stood for 24 seats and were successful in no less than 23. In uncontested constituencies, *ntole* landowners comprised two-thirds of the successful candidates. The remaining members who held land which had been allocated originally by their headmen were only 50 per cent. successful.

The location of the one voting place in each constituency may have had some influence on the success of certain candidates as most constituencies were large and the voting entailed an hour or two of walking for most voters. The candidates living near to the polling place, which as far as possible was located in the centre of the constituency, must have polled more votes than those living further away.

In Christian affairs there was no doubt that the results of the election had a quietening effect on denominational rivalries. The fact that every constituency had two or three seats allowed for both Roman Catholics and Protestants to be represented. In the councils members only voted according to their denominational adherence when there was a religious matter in question; there was no development of a church party approach. Christians now dominate the political life of the district, although the majority of the population is pagan. It is this fact combined with the fact that the least educated candidates were the least successful, which demonstrated that the publicly approved leaders were no longer the lineage heads with their ritual sanctions.

The clique controlling the local branch of TANU up to that time was only able to get six of their number elected to the councils. Subsequently they were never able to muster greater support for their proposals than this number of of votes in the councils. The clique's inability to dominate this first secret ballot cost them not only their control locally, but their right to have their opinions accepted without question by the party headquarters in the capital. This, combined with the fact that the chief of Bugufi had joined the party and was actively promoting its interests at a national level, demonstrated that the conservatives had won a decisive victory.

Some results of the election

In discussing the results of the election and its consequence it is necessary to consider the dominant role of the Chief of Bugufi. This intelligent and personable man had never made the mistake of trying to block political progress for its own sake which many chiefs were inclined to do. While he had a dominant position, his power lay in his ability to manoeuvre the majority who were his supporters and with whom he had an identity of views. At no time could he have swung the electorate behind a policy which was not acceptable to them.

The association of an hierarchy headed by the chiefs with the good life was illustrated by the ease with which the sons of even deposed headmen were elected to councils, and it was this association with the good life in the eyes of the majority which clearly won the election for them. Although the chiefs as a whole tend to be regarded as out-dated people whose powers have become increasingly circumscribed by events and regulations, it is not many years since they were both the religious and secular heads of their chiefdoms. Thus, in the absence of any specific grounds for complaint against them, there remained this connection between the chiefs and the good life.

In this they were aided by the fact that the group controlling the local party headquarters was a fairly sophisticated clique who, in spite of certain failings had a high average education and, because of this, tended to be outside the main current of local social life. Thus, it seems that provided the chiefs took a stand a little to the left of the conservative majority, they were relatively safe from party political sniping; this suggestion of movement towards the policies of the party as a national organization secured them immunity. It was symptomatic of the conclusion that the electorate were voting for the good life

as they understood it, of which the chiefs were only a principal element. The Chief of Bugufi knew every candidate personally but the Bushubi Chief did not know a quarter of the candidates for his councils. Yet in both the cases the results were essentially the same; a majority of 'grass-rooted' members.

The failure of the clique who controlled the local party headquarters to gain seats on the elected councils was due to changed times. They had come to their positions by their ability to oppose and antagonize the colonial government and its agents. With independence conceded, this ability no longer had any political value. It was found that they had neglected the 'grass-root' connections which were essential to the growth of the national movement which they were supposed to be cultivating and representing.

The conclusion that the election must be interpreted as an element in a problem of social change was reinforced by the tendency to call councillors by a customary title suggesting judicial powers, and by the desire of the councillors themselves to assume a prestige status in relation to their local government responsibilities.

APPENDIX

Analysis of All Candidates for Election

		Bugufi chiefdom				*Bushubi chiefdom*			
		Stood.	*Failed.*	*Successful.*	*Successful percentage.*	*Stood.*	*Failed.*	*Successful.*	*Successful percentage.*
A.	By religion:								
	1. Roman Catholic	49	15	34	69	82	22	60	73
	2. Protestant	93	47	46	49	5	3	2	40
	3. Moslem	2	1	1	50	3	1	2	66
	4. Pagan	4	3	1	25	4	2	2	50
B.	By education:								
	1. Up to 4 years	110	53	57	52	74	25	49	61
	2. From 5 to 8 years	14	6	8	57	7	2	5	72
	3. Over 9 years	24	7	17	71	13	1	12	92
C.	By occupation:								
	1. Cultivators	54	24	30	56	55	17	38	69
	2. Shopkeepers and traders ...	32	16	16	50	6	2	4	66
	3. Bus conductors	4	1	3	75	2	—	2	100
	4. Artisans	16	14	2	12	4	1	3	75
	5. Schoolmasters	14	4	10	71	12	2	10	83
	6. Catechists	21	7	14	66	14	5	9	64
	7. Priests	4	—	4	100	—	—	—	—
	8. Politicians	3	—	3	100	—	—	—	—
D.	By age:								
	1. Up to 25 years	13	5	8	62	13	6	7	54
	2. 26 to 40 years	116	58	58	50	72	21	51	71
	3. Over 41 years	19	3	16	84	9	1	8	89

APPENDIX—*continued.*

	Bugufi chiefdom				*Bushubi chiefdom*			
	Stood.	*Failed.*	*Successful.*	*Successful percentage.*	*Stood.*	*Failed.*	*Successful.*	*Successful percentage.*
E. BY TRIBE:								
1. Ganwa	3	1	2	66	4	—	4	100
2. Tutsi	16	6	10	63	17	8	9	53
3. Hutu	127	59	68	58	71	19	52	74
4. Others	2	—	2	100	2	1	11	50
F. BY FATHER'S POSITION:								
1. Headman	10	3	7	70	11	1	10	91
2. Landowner through chief ...	87	39	58	67	31	8	23	74
3. Landowner through headman	39	24	15	38	50	18	32	64
4. Not known	2	—	2	100	2	1	1	50
G. BY PREVIOUS CANDIDATURE:								
1. Standing for the first time ...	97	46	51	53	71	27	44	62
2. ,, ,, ,, second time ...	26	12	14	54	15	1	14	93
3. ,, ,, ,, third time ...	13	5	8	62	7	—	7	100
4. ,, ,, ,, fourth time ...	12	3	9	75	1	—	1	100
H. BY LAND OWNERSHIP:								
1. On land opened up by himself ...	14	7	7	50	70	19	51	73
2. On land owned by father ...	25	15	10	20	4	1	3	75
3. On inherited land	109	44	65	59	18	6	12	66
4. Owning no land	—	—	—	—	2	2	—	—
I. BY TENANT CONTROL:								
1. Having tenants on own land ...	24	1	23	95	—	—	—	—
2. No tenants	124	65	59	48	—	—	—	—

Problems of Town Growth

AN INQUIRY INTO THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE RESEARCH WORKER AND THE ADMINISTRATION IN THE PACIFIC

by J. S. RENNIE[1]

THIS article discusses the relationship between the research worker and the Administration with reference to any programme of urbanization studies undertaken in the Pacific under the auspices of the South Pacific Commission. I shall first describe the background of contemporary preoccupations of territorial administrations in Pacific territories against which research proposals must be viewed. I shall then refer to some of their urban problems and consider to what extent their solution can be eased by research, mentioning differences of approach which may complicate the relationship under discussion. One pattern of relationship will then be outlined from the time the research proposal is formulated to the time the report is translated into action. Finally, I shall give such information on territorial views on research into urbanization as I have gathered from unofficial enquiries. The views expressed are personal and should not be taken as representing those of my, or any other Government, least of all the Joint Administration of the New Hebrides, where urbanization in its classic form can hardly be said to exist.

Present preoccupations of Pacific administrations

The striking characteristics of most Pacific territories are their small and scattered populations, their isolation, the slight extent of urbanization, their predominantly agricultural economies, and their frequent dependence on metropolitan grants-in-aid for recurrent administrative expenses as well as for development services and capital investment. Apart from the major land mass of New Guinea, the Pacific territories within the area of activity of the South Pacific Commission are islands with populations which vary from a few thousands to, at most, considerably less than half a million inhabitants. Without exception towns are small in size and the contrast with Africa, let alone Asia, is great. Nevertheless, even these small concentrations of urban population give rise to problems associated with urbanization elsewhere; and, as elsewhere, these problems are not confined within the statutory limits of the towns but spread into the neighbouring countryside. In parts of the Pacific, too, a "distinctive feature is to be found in the rapidity of economic and social development and the impact of an alien culture and religion which has acquired force and purpose in many countries within the lifetime of the present generation".[2]

Pacific administrations are confronted with an accelerated rate of change associated with improved communications which have so shrunk the world that developments in one continent or country quickly have repercussions far beyond their boundaries. Constitutional advance is in progress in most territories and the stages of political development are likely to succeed one another more

[1] Mr. J. S. Rennie, C.M.G., O.B.E., was British Resident Commissioner in the New Hebrides, and is now Governor Designate, Mauritius. His article was originally prepared as a paper for discussion at a meeting of the South Pacific Commission's Urbanization Advisory Committee held at Honolulu in September, 1961.

[2] *The Family in Areas of Rapid Urbanization* (Contribution to Colonial Office Conference on Social Development through Family and Home), by W. H. Chinn; 1959.

rapidly than before under heightened internal and external pressure. Political leaders and their followers may thus have a shorter period of apprenticeship and acquire responsibilities at an earlier stage in their careers. The process may be fraught with less difficulty if there are a strong traditional leadership and a stable social structure capable of assuming and supporting new functions. More often than not these conditions are lacking, and instability may become a source of anxiety until traditions and conventions of political behaviour have been established and the new leaders have mastered the art of navigating a steady course between their Scylla of apparent identification with the official government and our Charybdis of irresponsible demagogy. In some territories the special tensions of a plural society call for the exercise of a high degree of political wisdom in restraint by the rising majority and adjustment by the hitherto dominant minority.

Administrations are much concerned with economic growth and with striking the right balance between social and economic investment, but their economies are based on primary products and therefore highly vulnerable to variations in world prices. For some territories the economic problem is not simply one of 'pump-priming' but of permanent financial dependence and, as a corollary, of the relationship between a territory which is unlikely ever to be economically viable and some larger grouping or external source of aid. They are anxious to develop secondary and tertiary industries, and these encourage concentrations of population, drawing men and women into new forms of employment in unfamiliar urban surroundings. The economic problem is complicated by the 'demonstration effect' of standards of living elsewhere; it is no longer easy, for instance, to dispense with services formerly regarded as luxuries in an underdeveloped country. Moreover, improved social services may be one condition of economic progress. Education is now seen as an 'investment' rather than a 'consumer' service; and as the tempo of political advance quickens, territorial administrations become acutely conscious of the need to hasten the training of an élite.[3]

The priorities of development impose painful choices and must be periodically adjusted. Indeed, for the administrator, it is increasingly true that '*gouverner, c'est choisir*' or, to use another celebrated phrase, he must 'learn to talk the language of priorities'; and the making of these choices, the adjustment of these priorities, once the reports are tabled and the estimates calculated, may involve a political factor hitherto omitted from the equation.

To sum up, the dominant preoccupations which tend to overshadow all others at present might be stated as: political development, economic growth, and the training of leaders. It remains to add that the towns and their environs are generally the most sensitive *foci* of change, and that their rapid growth, frequently haphazard, may take the administration unawares.

Urban problems and research

The problems which urbanization can present to an administration are well-known from experience elsewhere. There is, first of all, the problem of town planning in the narrower sense of the term, that is, the allocation of land to various uses, the provision of basic services, the improvement of standards of building and so on. The development of educational and health services is given special urgency by conditions in the towns. The concentration of population

[3] See the Nigerian report, *Investment in Education*, by Sir Eric Ashby and others.

favours epidemic disease and higher standards of sanitation are required and, indeed, demanded by those normally accustomed to them. Children are free from the traditional occupations of the rural areas and increased juvenile delinquency emphasizes the need for compulsory education. Traditional forms of social control are absent and the maintenance of law and order is consequently endangered. The attractions of the town draw unskilled labour from the rural areas in excess of the permanent demand, so that there is periodic unemployment or under-employment and wages are depressed. At the same time the cost of food and housing is high and family budgets may reveal that many unskilled workers receive less than a family living wage. Construction of houses fails to keep pace with the increase in the urban population, and the cost of new housing is beyond the reach of those most in need of it; argument ensues over subsidization and housing schemes are sometimes delayed until unrest forces a decision. Stable family life is jeopardized; the low ratio of women to men favours prostitution and temporary liaisons, while married women brought up in the country face a difficult problem of adjustment.

The administration cannot turn to traditional authorities for local government, since they do not exist in the towns, and men in regular occupations have not the same time to spare for unpaid public service. Town councils, especially in plural societies, may be preoccupied with the administration of services and the planning and execution of public works of immediate interest to the better-off, and may have little time, funds, or experience for adequate attention to the social welfare and the special needs of the local population. (Social welfare is, after all, a late development of municipal bodies in the metropolitan countries, left for long to charitable or political organizations.) If the authorities are not to find themselves dealing now with an undifferentiated mass, now with individuals, new forms of local government and administration must be introduced. The speed with which rumours circulate in a small crowded area and the absence of traditional channels of communication call for efficient public relations and information services. Around the town, uncontrolled suburbs grow up in which the worst features of the town slums are reproduced without the palliatives which operate in the town itself. This list of problems is formidable but not exhaustive.

Where the proper course of action is not clear, I think administrations faced with these problems will look first for information on how they have been dealt with elsewhere. There is a vast body of information about urbanization in Africa which Pacific administrations would find illuminating, and within the Pacific itself studies have been made and action taken which should be more widely known. (Material on low-cost urban housing is an example.) One administration occasionally asks another for copies of a report or of legislation which has come to notice by chance, but there is no organization which acts as a clearing-house for all territories in these matters. Assistance of this kind can hardly be classed as a 'research need', but the diffusion and use of what is already known seems a desirable preliminary, or at any rate accompaniment, to the accumulation of further more specific knowledge.[4]

To be guided by experience elsewhere begs the question whether that experience is valid, but time presses and until further research has been done

[4] The Administrative Services Branch of the Department of Technical Co-operation acts as a clearing house for information on the administrative aspect of urbanization problems, and the Tropical Building Section of the Building Research Station, which is associated with the Department of Technical Co-operation, can provide information on tropical building requirements.–*Ed.*

existing knowledge of the local situation and commonsense must determine to what extent solutions found elsewhere can be applied. If I may quote:

> "Regarding the last point, social scientists have become accustomed to answer that 'very much more detailed factual research is necessary before wise action can be planned upon the basis of scientific knowledge'. This statement which, with few verbal variations, will be found so often in our literature, is an expression of scientific modesty. But it also expresses escape. From the point of view of the practical men and of society, the rejoinder must be made: first, that practical action or inaction must be decided from day to day and cannot wait until eventually a lagging social science has collected enough detailed data for shouldering its part of the responsibility for social action; second, that, even with much more money and exertion spent on research, social science will, in this complicated and rapidly changing world, probably always be able to present this same alibi; and, third, that the scientist – even if his knowledge is only conjectural in certain respects – is in a position to assist in achieving a much wiser judgement than the one which is actually allowed to guide public policy."[5]

The accelerated organization of economic and political development, let alone social welfare, even where funds and executive staff are adequate, throws a heavy burden on central administrations. It is now a commonplace of studies of the economic development of underdeveloped territories that one limiting factor in the early stages is the inability of the government machine to cope effectively with new tasks until it has been reorganized and strengthened. The collaboration of central administrations is essential for the initiation and utilization of research, but they are too often overwhelmed by short – and medium-term preoccupations and the small scale of the Pacific territories limits the employment of planners and specialists. That they are conscious of their deficiencies in this respect is shown by their frequent recourse to expert advisers, although the appointment of the latter sometimes reflects a counsel of despair or a triumph of hope over experience. While this greater readiness to seek expert advice is praiseworthy, a report can be stillborn because of administrative (and political) inability to translate it into terms of what is practical and expedient in the particular circumstances of time and place.

It is worth mentioning at this point how administrations normally set about solving their more intractable problems. If they feel the need of outside help, they may call in an expert from another territory, the metropolitan country, or an international organization such as the South Pacific Commission. If the problem is complex, and especially if it has political overtones, a commission of enquiry may be appointed, composed of expert and impartial persons, with or without representation of the local interests concerned. An immediate need for research is, on the whole, unlikely to be felt, and a recommendation for research is more likely to be made at one remove from the administration's consideration of the problem, either by the outside expert or the commission of enquiry. Administrations are likely to need some convincing, therefore, that their requirement is for research and that effective practical solutions to their problems will not be found without it. There may also be some confusion about what research can do

> ". . . the role of the social scientist must essentially be viewed as that of an analyst and not that of a therapist, but the insights and leads provided by

[5] *An American Dilemma*, by Gunnar Myrdal; see Appendix 2, p. 1044.

applied social science research can nevertheless contribute substantially towards developing effective programmes and also towards their successful implementation. There are obvious dangers in over-selling applied social science and anthropology, and in making high sounding but impossible claims for them as 'sciences of human engineering'. The social scientist will do well to guard against this in the best interests of his profession. However, as independent subsidiaries to planners and administrators these disciplines can indeed be very useful."[6]

The transition from 'research worker' to 'expert' (and even to *deus ex machina*) is made with astonishing ease and there is a consequent risk of disappointment when authoritative advice on practical problems is not forthcoming. The role of research must therefore be clearly defined in preliminary discussion with the administration concerned.

It is understandable that in many territories there has been little systematic research into urbanization. In most, the only research has consisted of the uncoordinated activities of private research workers and studies of practical problems carried out by government officers. Expenditure on long-term research requires a considerable act of faith when the pace of change is rapid and the demands on finance clamorous: hence the requests to which Dr. Audrey Richards has referred in a recent article for "something on a half sheet of paper which you can send me in three months at most".[7]

The type of research required

To turn, however, to the type of research required, there is an obvious need in most territories for statistical and other quantitative information on which the extent of known problems can be assessed and new or improved services planned. To meet this need studies of the kind usually associated with a social survey are required; demographic studies, collection and analysis of family budgets, determination of 'standards' and 'levels' of living, assessment of housing requirements, employment statistics, and so on. Their scope must obviously be determined in consultation with territorial administrations, and where the urban population is small and there are no complications, some of the studies can probably be carried out by government officers on the spot if instruction and guidance in formulating, carrying out and evaluating the study can be obtained from outside.

It may be helpful to consider briefly the elements in the solution of a major problem, housing. The size of the problem should first be estimated by a survey of needs which will, *inter alia*, distinguish between permanent and temporary residents of the town, gauge the flow of movement into the town, and provide information on occupations and places of work. Demographic data and labour statistics are essential for such a survey. All urban housing for those with low incomes raises perplexing financial and economic issues; the demand for capital exceeds the supply, interest rates are generally high and so are building costs. Information is required on what can be paid by prospective purchasers or tenants, so that standards of housing can be finally determined, realistic terms of payment devised, and the need for subsidization decided in the light of financial and economic considerations such as the effect on the territorial budget and on the cost of living and wages. Family budgets and the results of economic enquiries will clearly be of assistance.

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[6] *India's Changing Villages*, by S. C. Dube; p. 152.

[7] *Anthropology on the Scrap Heap? J.A.A.*, Vol. XIII, No. 1 (January, 1961).

The selection of sites, the elaboration of layouts and the provision of basic services, such as water, sewerage and power, require the collaboration of town-planners and engineers. The limiting factors here are topography, the availability of land, distance from existing service reticulations and so on, and there will be little call for outside research. For satisfactory design and construction, however, the architect should have the information about the size and structure of families and about habits of living which sociological research can give. He will also, of course, benefit from building research into design and materials. The establishment of a housing scheme calls for decisions on management, on health, educational and welfare services, and on local government institutions, for all of which prior research can provide a basis of facts.

Some territories will wish to have intensive studies made of particular social problems, such as delinquency, nutrition or old age, but may first require advice on their scope and even on their present utility. A more general study may be a prerequisite where little is known of the society, and an urban study may be incomplete if no study has been made of the traditional culture of the town-dwellers. (Recent field work in Britain has shown how misleading a picture of society can be given when studies concentrate on abnormal aspects.)

The choice of some of these studies implies that the range and nature of the problems are known, and they should, if possible, be complemented by a qualitative study which will show what is happening to the society (if, indeed, 'society' is the appropriate term); what changes are taking place in the structure of the family, in family relationships and in wider kinship groupings; what new forms of associations are emerging, based on neighbourhood, political or religious affiliation, or economic interest; what fresh patterns of living can be discerned; what new values are replacing the old.

The first stage, however, is likely to be advice on what ressarch is required, that is, the kind of evaluation of information already available and analysis of problems which a social scientist can provide. Administrations will be in a better position to state their needs in urban research if they have the assistance of a social scientist in assessing them.

The initiation and processing of a research project

Assuming agreement that research is to be carried out as part of a programme conducted under the auspices of the South Pacific Commission, and that it is proposed to undertake a particular study or series of studies in one of the Pacific territories, the Commission will have to approach the territorial administration concerned for its approval of the project. The territorial administration would reasonably expect to be told why the project is to be carried out in its area, what is involved for it, and what it might expect by way of benefit, either with or without the co-operation of any of the territorial services. If the project is dependent on the co-operation of territorial services or might inconvenience the administration in any way, it would be necessary to persuade it of the advantages, and for that purpose it would be essential to have some knowledge of the territory's local problems. A point to be borne in mind where populations are small is that a particular area may be subjected to investigation too often; there is such a thing as 'research-fatigue' and Fiji has recently had to divert independent research workers to new areas.

Assuming, again, that the active co-operation of the administration is involved, the next step after securing its general blessing might be the preparation of a preliminary paper, setting out the programme and methods of research,

for discussion in the territory with a committee of government officers and others likely to be concerned. As a result, the programme and methods might be modified. The support of local services might be obtained by the promise of information relevant to their problems, either as the end-product or as a by-product of the research project. In this connection it is obviously desirable that as many parts of a project as possible should be carried through to the point where useful results are obtained.

Before starting work the research worker would be briefed by the administration on local conditions as they might affect his work, and he might find it valuable to have periodic meetings with the original committee to report progress. On the other hand, informal contacts with territorial officers might meet the case, and the research worker would then merely let them know from time to time where he was and what he was up to without bothering them further.

Administrations would almost certainly welcome the supply of information as it became available, whether in the form of facts and statistics or of draft papers prepared for academic purposes. There is a natural reluctance on the part of research workers to supply material before they have made a final evaluation and tested their hypotheses, but with the rapid pace of change nowadays it is important that information should be made available at the earliest possible moment, even if it must be accompanied by expressions of reserve as to its reliability. It is better that urgent decisions should be taken on the best information available at the time than in the absence of any information at all.

A personal reminiscence comes to mind: about 1948, at a time when almost the only result to hand of an economic research project in Tanganyika was an estimate of the school population in 1980 or some such distant date, I was busy with what were to prove the most pregnant scholarship papers in the country's history, those of Mr. Julius Nyerere. I do not suggest that the estimate was without value: on the contrary, it emphasized the importance and urgency of expanding teacher-training; but, as Professor Malengreau has said: "... the investigator who makes a painstaking analysis of a particular social phenomenon is very likely to find, even before he has had time to publish the results of his first observations, that it has been superseded by other, still more significant phenomena ..."[8]

It is essential that allowance should be made for time to write up material in the allocation of funds for a research project. Nothing is more discouraging to an administration than long delays, punctuated by reminders of increasing acrimony, before reports can be extracted from research workers. Priorities in writing up should be discussed with the administration and any requests for the preparation of papers on subjects of pressing interest sympathetically regarded.

As much material as possible should be made available to administrations, whether it is required for the research worker's thesis or not. Far too little of the information collected finds its way back to them. Some of the reasons are obvious, such as new preoccupations of the research worker, lack of time, or illness, but the record could be improved if there was closer collaboration between the research worker and the administration. Needless to say, any report should state clearly what the object of the research was and what has been discovered as

[8] *Observations on the Orientation of Sociological Researches in African Urban Centres, with reference to the situation in the Belgian Congo*, published by UNESCO in *Social Implications of Industrialization and Urbanization in Africa south of the Sahara.*

a result. It should also say what other research seems desirable in the light of that already undertaken.

Such elaborate provision for consultation with an administration may be repugnant to research workers because they fear it will lead to bureaucratic interference with their work:

> "Thou shalt not worship projects nor
> Shalt thou or thine bow down before Administration."[9]

I do not think so much consultation is necessary where the research worker is engaged on a project of restricted scope with little impact on territorial services; in such cases there is much advantage in leaving him to his own devices, subject to a preliminary briefing by the administration, at which some indication can be given of the problems of particular concern to it and of any local idiosyncrasies of which he should be aware, and to the submission of a report when he leaves the field. As far as urban studies are concerned, however, arrangements on the lines I have indicated seem desirable if results satisfactory to the administration are to be obtained.

The best research and reports in the world will be of little value to an administration unless it deliberately makes use of them. If a report is of any importance, it is necessary to make special arrangements to deal with it, unless there are well-tried, established procedures which can be followed. The report will probably touch on the activities of several services but the normal co-ordinating agency, the central secretariat, is generally in no position to tackle the job of translating a research report into terms of practical action. One device is to appoint a committee to examine the report and recommend action on it, and a suitable committee may already exist, if the procedure outlined above has been followed. Another device is to relieve an officer temporarily of other duties for the express purpose of dealing with the report. If it is of great importance, a combination of the two may be desirable. By way of illustration, the sections of the report of the Royal Commission on East Africa dealing with urbanization were considered at a special conference of Central and East African government officers concerned with the subject,[10] and the Government of Tanganyika seconded a senior administrative officer for several months to make recommendations on a similar but slightly wider range of problems in the light of the report.[11]

Some views on research needs in the Pacific

I have not attempted to collect detailed information on the research needs of territories in the area of the South Pacific Commission but, after consulting the Commission's Executive Officer for Social Development, a questionnaire (reproduced as an appendix) was sent to a number of individuals in different territories, some of them members of the Commission's Research Council. In addition to raising points incorporated in the preceding sections of this article, their replies gave some indication of research needs.

As might be expected, the awareness of definite research needs tends to vary with the extent to which there is regular access to the advice of scientists, either

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[9] On the other hand, as Mr. Auden also decrees,

> ". . . Thou shalt not sit,
> With statisticians nor commit
> A social science".

Therein lies one of the problems of the relationship.

[10] The report of the conference was published in *J.A.A.*, Vol. X, No. 4 (October, 1958).

[11] *Report of Detribalization in Tanganyika*, by M. J. B. Molohan, 1959.

through their availability in the metropolitan country or their permanent employment as members of an administration. Most administrations make frequent use of outside scientists, for example, Fiji and the New Zealand and French territories; others retain in addition their own specialists in the social sciences, for example, Papua and New Guinea, Netherlands New Guinea and the United States Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. One territory, Papua and New Guinea, in 1960 devoted one of the regular courses for territorial officers at the School of Pacific Administration to urbanization. The larger territories are believed to be very conscious of the growth of urbanization and likely to be interested in any proposals the Commission's Urbanization Advisory Committee can formulate. The need generally expressed in territories with urban problems, but without their own specialists, is for general surveys and investigations, and I think that discussion between the administration and a scientist would be necessary before these needs could be more precisely defined in terms of research projects.

Most territories have experience of independent research workers but the extent to which use is made of them for administration purposes varies. Again, the ability of an administration to benefit from such research workers seems directly related to their own employment of specialists in the same or cognate fields. Generally, no difficulties have arisen in relationships with independent workers, though some territories have occasionally found them more of a nuisance than an asset, and probably all would welcome prior consultation with their sponsors on topics of research.

There seems to be a fairly general feeling that resources could be used to better advantage if there is more consultation with the administration, co-ordination of research, and dissemination of results. To some extent the remedy may lie in the hands of administrations themselves, through the establishment of research committees or councils in the territory and liaison by them with universities and other sponsoring bodies, but they are sometimes astounded at the ease with which funds are secured and research workers despatched to the field with little or no attempt to gain their support for the project.

APPENDIX

1. What research into urbanization has recently been undertaken in your territory, is in progress, or is planned?
2. Has your territory any indication of its needs for research in this field? Does the administration consider itself adequately informed on its urban problems? (on such matters as the system of administration for urban and peri-urban areas; local government; maintenance of law and order; financing of services; drift to the towns; unemployment and under-employment; public health; housing; delinquency and similar social problems; education for an urban environment; public relations and information; social security).
3. What are the usual arrangements for carrying out social research required by the territory: are workers engaged from outside *ad hoc* or does the territory have on its own staff such specialists as sociologists and statisticians? Are research workers who are not employed by the administration but who are sponsored by a metropolitan institution ever asked to include

in their reports material on subjects of special interest to the administration?

4. Have any special difficulties arisen in regard to the relationship between research workers and the administration and have you any particular views on the question?

5. To what extent is use actually made of reports on research, especially social science research? Are there any established procedures for ensuring that reports receive attention and that the best use is made of them? Have these procedures proved satisfactory and, if not, have you any suggestions for improving them?

Book Reviews

PRIMITIVE GOVERNMENT, by Lucy Mair. *Penguin Books*, 1962; pp. 279; 4s. 6d.

IN the author's own words, "The purpose of this book is to examine the way in which government is carried on among peoples of simple technology" – "peoples of simple technology" being those "whose ways of doing things" can be described as primitive. In an introduction of 31 pages Dr. Mair defines this and other terms and conventions which appear throughout the book; and describes briefly the areas from which her examples of primitive government are taken – Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika, and the southern part of the Sudan – and the peoples living in them, "classified by the language groups to which they belong, as Nilotes, Nilo-Hamites and Bantu."

The purpose of part one – Government without the State – is conveniently summarized in a passage in the introduction:–"to see whether the *functions* of government, or at any rate some of them, may not be performed in simple societies even though they do not have the institutions of the State."

Part two – African States – is a study of how the functions of government are performed among the other peoples in the region – all of whom have "governments that can be readily identified as States". They can be identified as States because, in each of them, a single supreme authority is recognized.

Part three has no general title. It consists of one chapter on 'Primitive government and modern times'. The subject of this chapter is "what has happened to the primitive political systems described . . . since they have become subject to foreign overlords with different ideas from their own about the purposes of government". Many readers of this *Journal* will find this the most interesting chapter in the book. In a brief reference to the policies of the colonial governments and their hopes and aims (page 252) Dr. Mair records, dispassionately, that "they also believed that there were certain absolute standards of good government which it was their duty to impose on peoples who had not worked these out for themselves. The individuals who put these policies into practice were sustained . . . by the dogma that civilization was a blessing that its possessors ought to spread . . .; and nobody today is saying that they ought not to have spread civilization; today's complaint is that they did not spread enough of it, or the right parts".

This chapter on 'Primitive government and modern times' closes appropriately on a topical note. Dr. Mair thinks that "we are much more likely to see African district commissioners than the abolition of district commissioners" . . . that "government" (under new management) "will be at least as highly centralized as it has been under colonial rule, and that the idea of local government as balancing the power of central government will have little appeal".

Western readers (see the publishers' note on the back cover and pages 81 and 237) should perhaps be reminded here that the region under examination in this book takes in "that part of East Africa which is included within Kenya".

This book calls for – and deserves – careful reading. Dr. Mair does not indulge in loose talk and every sentence counts in the final reckoning. Facts drawn from an encyclopaedic knowledge of the East African peoples are marshalled with precision and deployed in argument skilfully, and, above all, objectively.

There are two maps; a list of further reading; and an index to which I would like to add two items:–under *A* – Anthropologists, sidelights on, page 198; *and* under *T* – 1066 and All That, page 138.

A.T.W.

LUO CUSTOMARY LAW AND MARRIAGE LAWS AND CUSTOMS (English Version), by Gordon Wilson. *Government Printer, Kenya*, 1961; 11s.

THE Luo are one of the most important peoples of East Africa. Their territory lies around the north-eastern shores of Lake Victoria, and they are classified as a Nilotic people. In many respects they differ markedly from their Bantu and Nilo-Hamitic neighbours. The amount of published information about them has, in the past, been sadly inadequate. The present study is therefore to be welcomed.

It consists of two memoranda, completed in 1954 and 1955 respectively, and available locally, it seems, in a Dholuo as well as an English edition. The task of recording Luo laws and customs was undertaken by Mr. Wilson at the instance and with the support of the authorities responsible for the administration of the African court system; and though the author writes as an anthropologist, he presents his material simply and with a sparing use of technical terms.

In addition to his own field research, Mr. Wilson's sources include (*a*) information, oral and written, from Africans possessing relevant knowledge and experience (among whom special acknowledgement is made to Mr. Shadrack Malo, President of the Appeal Court for Central Nyanza and a member of the East African Court of Review); and (*b*) a wealth of illustrative case-material in the form of records and proceedings in African courts (including decisions of appellate authorities).

The work consists of two parts. Part I, entitled 'Luo Customary Law', begins with a few pages of introductory description, dealing both with the indigenous social and political structure and also with modern developments. The rest of this part is devoted almost entirely to the subject of land tenure. Part II deals with marriage laws and customs. Not the least of the merits of Mr. Wilson's work is the light thrown on the part which administrative officers, exercising powers of supervision and appellate jurisdiction, have played in the development of African law. Opinions may differ as to the value of their contribution. Mr. Wilson, while not wanting in appreciation, thinks that in the past these officers were handicapped by an imperfect understanding of the social structure and lineage system and (apparently) that they were sometimes too ready to override customary law in the interests of 'equity' or natural justice.

ARTHUR PHILLIPS.

THE NYASALAND ELECTIONS OF 1961, by Lucy Mair. *Athlone Press, University of London*, 1962; pp. 87; 18s.

THE Institute of Commonwealth Studies in London University started in 1954 the publication of a series of pamphlets under the title of 'Commonwealth Papers'. This study by Dr. Lucy Mair of the Nyasaland election of 1961 is the

seventh in that series, and the first to be published as a book rather than a pamphlet.

One of the most remarkable changes in the government of Africa in the whirlwind years since the war has been the introduction of parliamentary elections on the western model. In territory after territory electoral machinery has been assembled and put into motion; registration of electors, revision courts, polling stations, returning officers, and all the other component parts of the machine that has been evolved by the tutelary powers.

The importation of so exotic a machine raises many questions; some on the administrative levels, of how registers are best compiled, and how votes are best recorded and counted; others on the political level, of what impulses and influences affect the electors, and how the parties are constituted; how they operate, and how they persuade. It is with these political matters that Dr. Mair is mainly concerned. One cannot form any worthwhile picture of the significance of elections in African politics and society unless detailed studies are made of a succession of elections in a number of territories; Professors Robinson and MacKenzie started admirably in their collection of such studies, *Five Elections in Africa*, published in 1960. Dr. Mair follows closely the pattern they set, asking the same sort of questions, and recording her findings in a similar way. For this we must be grateful, for it makes comparison more valuable and helps towards the ultimate emergence of a clearer understanding. She has, however, one advantage over her predecessors; by publishing a study of a single election, and not having to co-ordinate a team of investigators, she has been able to publish her report with remarkable speed; the elections were held on the 15th August 1961, and the book was on sale on the 18th April 1962. Things are changing so quickly in Africa that such an achievement is of real importance.

Wisely she avoids any discussion of the political background of federation, and starts the story with the Lancaster House Conference of July 1960. She describes shortly the course of the negotiations, and the working out of the details of the new, and remarkably complicated, franchise; but she reserves the greater part of her space for a description of the parties, their programmes and their electioneering methods. Studying this on the ground, and with her extraordinary knowledge of the society and traditions of East and Central Africa, she gives a most valuable account of how the campaigns were conducted. Most notably, she shows how little the candidates counted; in the victorious Malawi party, they were presented not as individuals, but as the representatives of Dr. Banda. It was, in effect, not an election of members of the Legislative Council, but a declaration of faith in Dr. Banda as the impersonation of the opposition to compulsory federation.

Other elections are about to be held elsewhere in Africa, and it is to be hoped that scholars with something of the skill and knowledge of Dr. Mair will record them in the same way, so that we may come to understand better what really happens when the mechanism of a general election is introduced into the society of Africa. So, also, one may hope that they will follow the same pattern with but one difference – the inclusion of an index.

B. KEITH-LUCAS.

OTHER BOOKS RECEIVED

THE STORY OF NIGERIA, by Michael Crowder. *Faber and Faber, London,* 1962; pp. 307; 21s.

Starting from the earliest known history of the various groups that go to make up modern Nigeria, this book traces their relationships with each other, the impact of British rule, the rise of nationalism and the achievement of independence.

AFRICA AND THE WEST, by Arnold Rivkin. *Frederick A. Praeger, New York,* 1962; pp. 241; $5.00.

A study of the crucial problems of African political and economic development, and their implications for free-world policy.

THE TRIBE AND ITS SUCCESSORS, by William Rayner. *Faber and Faber, London,* 1962; pp. 239; 30s.

An account of African traditional life and of European settlement in Southern Rhodesia.

WHITE SETTLERS IN TROPICAL AFRICA, by L. H. Gann and P. Duignan. 1962; pp. 170; 3s. 6d.

Two historians write about the settlement and development of East and Central Africa by European traders, missionaries, miners, farmers and industrialists.

AFRICA: A handbook to the continent, edited by Colin Legum. *Anthony Blond, London,* 1962; pp. xiv + 553; 84s.

Africa is so much in the news these days that the appearance of this reference book is timely. It covers rather cursorily the whole of Africa, particular attention being given to those areas which are in the limelight or likely to be in the near future, such as Central Africa and the Portuguese territories. There is a description of political development and economic situation, some basic information, and a short Who's Who, for every country in the continent, both dependent and independent.

The main part of the book consists of this digest of facts, but it is supplemented by brief essays from a variety of expert contributors on such diverse topics as art, changing cultural patterns, religion, economics and the attitudes to Africa of the United States, the Soviet Union, France and Great Britain.

The price is high, but the volume is well produced and illustrated, even if one is irritated by finding advertisements (rather like I.T.V.) interleaved in the text.

PAPUA AND NEW GUINEA, by Brian Essai. *Oxford University Press,* 1962; pp. 255; 37s. 6d.

A contemporary survey of the Territory and its developmental activities.

AUCUPARIUS, by Sir Ralph Furse. *Oxford University Press,* 1962; pp. 330; 35s.

Sub-titled *Recollections of a Recruiting Officer,* this is an account of the development, particularly as regards recruitment and training, of the British Colonial Service, set in an autobiographical framework.

ALLOTT'S JUDICIAL AND LEGAL SYSTEMS IN AFRICA. *Butterworth and Co.,* 1962; pp. 226; 45s. (postage 1s. 2d.).

A comprehensive guide to the systems of courts in those parts of Africa where the law is based on, or strongly influenced by, the common law. It includes a summary of the kinds of law which the courts are empowered to administer.

Legislation

LAW

UGANDA

African Courts (Amendment) Ordinance, 1962

THIS Ordinance amended the Uganda African Courts Ordinance, 1957. It brings the principal Ordinance up to date by amending the definitions. Provision is made for courts advisers to supervise African courts and to exercise control over African courts previously exercised by provincial commissioners, district commissioners and resident magistrates. Supervisory powers of chiefs are also removed and limited to the High Court, to courts advisers and, in certain circumstances, to District African Courts.

New provisions for appeals are made.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT

UGANDA

The Urban Authorities (Amendment) Ordinance, 1962

THIS Ordinance amends the Uganda Urban Authorities Ordinance, 1958, to accord with the agreements reached at the London Conference following the Munster Report. It provides for a measure of ministerial responsibility to the Buganda Government in respect of municipalities in Buganda and extends the powers of councils, such as in respect of public health, welfare, public order, land and education. The Minister may require an education committee to be appointed.

There are new provisions dealing with the inspection of accounts and financial instructions.

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